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Articles :

- | | |
|---|---|
| Dvipantara (K A Nilkanta Sastri) | 1 |
| Temples at Pagan (Sarasi Kumar Saraswati) | 5 |

Notices of Books :

- | | |
|--|----|
| W C Osman Hill <i>The Physical Anthropology of the Existing Veddas of Ceylon—Part I</i> (Tarak Chandra Das) Jitendranath Bancija, <i>The Development of Hindu Iconography</i> (U N Ghoshal) Kalidas Nag <i>India and the Pacific World</i> (U N Ghoshal), I Burrow, <i>A Translation of the Kharestani Documents from Chinese Turkestan</i> (Suniti Kumar Chatterjee) R Vasudeva Poduval <i>A Short Guide to Padmanabhapuram</i> (U N Ghoshal), R Vasudeva Poduval, <i>Travancore Inscriptions—A topographical List</i> (U N Ghoshal) <i>A Report on the Working of the State Museum Pudukkottai for Fash 1350</i> (U N Ghoshal) | 29 |
|--|----|

Editorial Notes

47

Obituary Notice:

- | | |
|---|----|
| Edward Denison Ross (Suniti Kumar Chatterjee) | 49 |
|---|----|

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

51

Additions to our Library

57

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Dvīpāntara

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

About ten years ago Sylvain Lévi established the correct form of the word rendered into *Kouen-louen* in a Sanskrit-Chinese Lexicon compiled by a Central Asian monk, Li-yen, of the kingdom of Koutcha; the Sanskrit word is *dvīpāntara*.¹

Considering the apparently very corrupt form in which the Sanskrit words are given in the lexicon, this must be considered in itself a great gain, and Dr. P. C. Bagchi, who knows more about the lexicon than any one else, has accepted the correctness of his master's restoration, and stated further²: 'We may add that the tradition localising the *dvīpāntara* in Indonesia has persisted in India to this day. Even recently while speaking of the islands to which exiles are sent, people spoke not of the Andamans or of Tennasserim, but of *dvīpāntara*.' This statement, I may say, holds good of South India as well.

But the use of the term in ancient times is decidedly of greater historical interest, and Sylvain Lévi himself, in the article cited above, discussed several passages, mostly drawn from the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, in which the term *dvīpāntara* occurs. He also cited Manu III. 158 and Baudhāyana

1 *BKI*. Vol. 88, pp. 621-7.

2 *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, Tome ii (1937), p. 349, n. 28.

Dharmasūtra 2.1.2.2. on prohibition of sea-voyages (*Samudrayāyin* and *Samudrasamyānam*) and the glosses of Kullūka and Govindasvāmī thereon where the term *dvīpāntara* occurs.

It is curious by the way to note how this prohibition against sea-voyages is a very old affair and how very systematically it has been disregarded in practice through the ages. Baudhāyana, for instance, places it at the head of *patanīyanī*, of sins which according to his annotator are only a little less heinous than *mahāpātakas*, and prescribes a three years' penance for it. Yet we have incontrovertible evidence from the epigraphy of Indonesia of orthodox Brahmins having crossed the sea to perform the most meritorious Vedic sacrifices in the lands colonised by them long after the age of Baudhāyana. Are we to assume that these Brahmins, having crossed the sea once, purified themselves by the prescribed penance in the new lands? Are we further to assume that there was no regular intercourse between the Brahmins in India and their brethern abroad, or that each voyage was followed by a penance? True we have no definite data before us, but he would be a bold man who would answer these questions in the affirmative without any hesitation.

Sylvain Lévi came to the conclusion that like *Kouen-louen* in Chinese, *Dvīpāntara* in Sanskrit was applied to the Islands and the continent of the 'Southern Seas' as the Chinese called them. Let us note also this. Among the citations discussed by Lévi, there are two which use *dvīpāntara* and *dvīpānta* in the plural viz.,

(1) *tasya dvīpāntareṣvasti sarveṣu api gatāgatam*. 'He goes to and fro among all the other islands' (Tawney);

(2) *nagarī tvadabhipretā dvīpānteṣu śrūtā punaḥ*— '...is situated in one of the distant islands'. It seems possible that the plural in these instances is just in accordance with the ordinary rule of Sanskrit grammar that the names of the countries must be used in the plural, and if this is the correct view, *dvīpāntara* may be treated as more or less the proper name of the entire region specified. The name in

that case would be one describing the lands concerned from the standpoint of India. India is one *dvīpa*—*Jambudvīpa*; Malaya is its sister—*dvīpāntara*—across the sea. It is of course well known that *dvīpa* in these contexts does not mean 'island' exactly.

There are two passages, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil, in which the word *dvīpāntara* occurs and which both go far to confirm the correctness of Sylvain Lévi's surmise. The Sanskrit verse is so well known that it is a surprise that it has not been taken into account so far in the discussion; it occurs in the *Raghuvamśa* (VI. 57) of Kālidāsa in Sunandā's description of the Kālīṅga king Hemāṅgada to Indumatī on the occasion of her *svayamvara*; among the amenities the princess could enjoy if she chose Hemāṅgada for her husband was this:

*anena sārḍham viharāmburāśch
tīreṣu tālīvana-marmareṣu/
dvīpāntarā-'nīta-lavaṅga-puṣpaiḥ
apākṛta-sveda-lavū marudbhiḥ//*

The bride is told by her maid that if she chose the ruler of Kālīṅga for her husband, she could sport with him on the shore of the ocean in the midst of rustling palms, while the winds wafting the flowers of cloves from the *dvīpāntara* remove the sweat from her skin. It takes no effort to see that the land described as the home of the cloves, *lavaṅga*, is the Malay peninsula. It must be noted at the same time that all the commentators on this verse fail to exhibit the slightest inkling of this. But this is perhaps not surprising as Kālidāsa's political geography has baffled his commentators at many other points.

The other reference occurs in the life of Tirumangai Ālvār as narrated in the *Guruparamparai*, *Āṭṭayirappaḍi*, one of the earliest hagiologies of Tamil Vaiṣṇavism. The work may be taken to date from the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., Tirumangai was casting about for funds with which to complete the plans he had made for the renovation of the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam, and he hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist vihara at Negapatam of its Buddha

image of solid gold. In this project, the information given by an old Viṣṇava lady residing at Negapatam was found very useful. It was to this effect: "The artisan who made this golden image and the Vimāna under which it is enshrined lives at present in *dvīpāntara*.' This statement was enough to send Tirumangai to *dvīpāntara* where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the vimāna which enabled the *ālvār* to enter the temple easily and remove the golden image according to plan.

Obviously in this story *dvīpāntara* is not any other island, or an indefinite distant island, as it is usually understood, but some specific country which needed no further description for its identity to be established; in short, *dvīpāntara* is a proper name. May we not suggest that this term was specifically applied to Malaya, Malayadvīpa, which was the 'other island' across the sea to a person speaking from India? If this is correct, Chinese *Kouen-louen* must be taken to mean definitely the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula, if not merely Malaya.

We must, however, beware of pressing too far these suggestions derived from the Central Asian Chinese Lexicon and supported by the usages we have discussed above. The Chinese term in the equation, *Kouen-louen*, is used by other writers in other widely different applications as even a cursory glance through Ferrand's celebrated article on the subject in *Journal Asiatique* (1919) would show.³ On the other side the Sanskrit term *dvīpāntara* does not get completely free of its grammatical origin *anyad dvīpam dvīpāntaram*, and develop into a full-fledged proper name, as the vacillation in usage between the singular and plural forms shows. Still there is enough before us to justify our recognising at least a pronounced tendency in Indian usage to localise *dvīpāntara* in the Malay peninsula with some of the larger islands in its neighbourhood.

3 See also *Etudes Asiatiques*, ii, pp. 261-3.

Temples at Pagan*

By S. K. SARASWATI, M.A.

Pagan Animarddanapura, the great temple city of Burma, is situated in the fertile plains of the Irrawady high up the river in what is known as the dry zone. There is very little rainfall in the country around, a fact that is responsible for the preservation, total or partial, of many of the numerous monuments that came to adorn this semi-desert region during the two centuries of the most feverish architectural activity. The greatness of the city begins with the accession of king Anawrahta (Aniruddha), who came to the throne in 1044 A.D. and initiated an epoch of all round progress and reform in Upper Burma. With the help of Shin Araham he introduced the southern form (*Hinayāna*) of Buddhism in Pagan in suppression of the Tantrik Ari cult, which hitherto held the field. He invaded and conquered Thaton in lower Burma and brought back, with the captive Talaing king Manuha, *Hinayāna* monks and priests, able craftsmen and artisans and cartloads of sacred manuscripts, that proved to be important contributory factors in the rising greatness of Pagan. As the Talaing chronicle says, "From that time henceforth Thaton was desolate, but Pagan flourished like unto a heavenly city."¹ The conquest of Thaton further opened up a prolific contact and intercourse with influences from the mainland that reached the delta. Anawrahta also gave the start for the great building activity that was zealously followed by his successors, who vied

* Very little is known outside Burma about the Pagan monuments as the published reports are rather scanty. For much of the materials of this paper the author is indebted to Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt. & Phil. F.L.A., whose first-hand observations, embodied in his unpublished thesis on the architecture of Burma, the author has been allowed to use freely.

1 H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Towards Angkor*, p. 213.

with one another in raising up monuments after monuments in honour of their much revered faith. In 1287 Pagan was overrun and sacked by the Mongol hordes of Kublai Khan and it lost its rank of a royal city. Thus ended a dynasty of kings, whose intense religious fervour covered, within a period of a little more than two centuries, an extensive arid tract of country with visible symbols of the faith in the shape of monuments of every conceivable form. "The sun-scorched wilderness" blossomed forth "into the architectural magnificence of Pagan."²

A survey of the Pagan monuments, now in various stages of ruin or preservation, amply bears out the magnificence of the city in days gone by. They cover a tract of country nearly 100 square miles in area and comprise the following places and villages in the Myingyan district: (1) Nyaung-u, (2) Wet-kyi-in, (3) Taungbi-leya, (4) Pagan Myoma, (5) Myin Pagan, (6) Thipyitsaya, (7) Twinywa, (8) Pwazu, (9) Minnanthu, (10) Taungba and (11) Thayetkon.³ But very little of what was there can be seen now, as a considerable number of the monuments have fallen into ruin, and it is said that the last king of Pagan, Narathihapate, more generally known as the king "who fled from the Chinese", had dismantled 1,000 large *stūpas*, 10,000 smaller ones and 4,000 square temples for materials to prepare defences against Kublai Khan.⁴ Yet the remains that still stand are by no means inconsiderable, and they give us an idea of the innumerable number of monuments that came to adorn this dead city in the days of its greatness. Confined within a circumscribed locality they form a most compact architectural group representing a distinct contribution to the history of Eastern architecture. Unfortunately the reports are scanty and, barring the famous Ānanda, no details are available even of the other equally pretentious monuments. The architectural survey of Pagan, long announced by the Archaeological

2 G. H. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 29.

3 *Report, Archaeological Survey of Burma*, 1918, p. 4.

4 Taw Sein Ko, *Archaeological Notes on Pagan*, pp. 5-6.

Survey of Burma and expected to contain a methodical and scientific history of Pagan architecture from its first beginnings to its sudden stop, has not yet been published and is being eagerly awaited.

In spite of the ravages of time and man the torrid plains of Pagan rear even today hundreds of large and small brick monuments in different stages of preservation and it is difficult to take all of them into consideration within the compass of a short paper. It is proposed hence to confine the present study to a discussion of the temples that are sure to attract the admiring attention of even the casual visitor to this deserted imperial city. But here too an exhaustive treatment of each and every temple is out of the question. For our scope it will be sufficient, I hope, to discuss the different types and their representative examples along with their antecedents and associations.

The numerous temples, apart from other monuments, at Pagan may be divided into three distinct groups.⁵ All the groups, however, appear to belong to a common tradition, the distinction being merely in details. In general conception and ideology they may be said to represent but one style, which may be termed as "Indo-Burmese". A description of the representative examples along with their typical features is sure to bring this out.

The first group appears to be characteristic of the 11th century A.D., though the type may be found to have survived till late in the 12th. Of the important examples of this group, that still stand, may be mentioned, besides the celebrated Ānanda, the Nanpaya temple, the Nagayon temple, the Kubbyaukkyi temple, the Seinnyet Ama temple, the Shwegugyi temple, the three temples of the Payathonju group, etc., all belonging to the 11th century A.D., except the last-mentioned two, which are dated respectively in the 12th and the 13th. Most of these temples bear Talaing inscriptions on their walls, for which these temples are commonly said

5 In this discussion we leave out the Mahabodhi temple, which, to all intents and purposes, is a copy of the famous shrine at Bodhgaya.

to belong to the Talaing type. The Patothamya, traditionally ascribed to the 10th century A.D., and the Abeyadana built by Kyanzittha (c. 1084 A.D.), represent a sub-variety of this group, as will be taken note of later on. The second group is represented best by the lofty Thatbyinnyu temple. Among other specimens of this group may be mentioned the Gawdawpalin temple, the Sulaimani temple, the Tilominlo temple, the Thitswada temple, etc. The third group may be said to be rather scarce, and among the representative examples may be mentioned the Dammayangyi and the Dammayajaka temples. The second and the third groups first make their appearance in the 12th century A.D. and may be found to have been in vogue simultaneously till the subversion of the dynasty at Pagan towards the end of the 13th century A.D. King Narapatisithu, who reigned from 1174 to 1198 A.D., was responsible for the construction of the Gawdawpalin, which belonged to the second group, as well as of the Dammayajaka, which belonged to the third. As already observed, all the groups belong fundamentally to one stylistic tradition and differ but very little in general plan and arrangement. Whatever distinction is noticed is merely in matters of detail. The style was not confined within the limits of Pagan alone and examples of the style have been found at Amarapura and Sale.

Of all the groups of temples at Pagan the Ānanda⁶ is certainly the most revered, as it is still actually in worship. It is also the most remarkable for the outstanding beauty and strength of the structure, for its fine and graceful proportions and for the wealth of stone sculptures and terracotta plaques decorating its walls. In general plan and arrangement the three groups of temples vary little, and what is true generally of the Ānanda is true also of the other two. A detailed description of the Ānanda should thus suffice for all the three groups when the distinctive elements in the other two are specially noted. Built towards the end of the 11th

6 The Ānanda temple has been described in detail by Duroiselle: Chas Duroiselle, *The Ananda Temple at Pagan, MASI.*, no. 56.

century A.D. by Kyanzittha, the royal hero of so many Burmese legends and romances, the shrine is magnificently situated in the centre of a spacious court, surrounded by brick enclosure walls having enormous gateways at the four cardinal points. It exhibits a huge square temple with four gabled porches, each projecting from the centre of each of the four cardinal faces, which give it the shape externally of a cruciform. Each of the porches is divided in the interior by brick columns into a central nave and two side-aisles. Instances are not rare where only one such portico or porch has been provided for. As for example, the Nanpaya and the Nagayon (Fig. 1), attributed respectively to Manuha and Kyanzittha, i.e., to dates prior to that of the Ānanda, are each preceded by a single portico on one side only. It is not unreasonable, hence, to infer that temples of this kind originally began with only one long portico projection over the single entrance doorway, and four such adjuncts on the four faces naturally come in the logic of symmetry and sense of regularity in course of evolution. The ground plan of the Ānanda, or for the matter of that, of the majority of the temples at Pagan, may be described as a square with projecting porticos facing the four cardinal points. In internal arrangement the building is extremely massive and contains in the centre a solid square pile with two parallel circumambulatory corridors, communicating with each other and with the vestibules and the windows by means of transverse openings across the thick walls. The walls of the corridors as well as those of the vestibules are lined with tiers of niches containing stone sculptures pertaining to the legend of the Buddha. The central pile enshrines in a niche on each side a colossal standing image of Buddha and thus serves the purpose of the principal sanctuary of the shrine. Such an arrangement on each face of the central square pile reminds one of the *chaumukha* or *chaumuha* stones of the Jinas. This central pile shoots high up above the roofs of the corridors, and acts as the support for a tapering curvilinear tower (*śikhara*) that usually crowns such a temple.

Being built of bricks elaborate use has been made of the

knowledge of vaulting by means of radiating voussoirs. The circumambulatory corridors and the side-aisles of the vestibules are spanned by a kind of semi-pointed barrel vault rising from the outer to the inner wall. The vault over the inner corridor begins at a level slightly higher than that of the outer one. As Fergusson points out, the adoption of the semi-pointed barrel vault was a wise move, as it lessened the thrust on the walls, and that is why most of these vaults exist down to the present day. For the naves of the vestibules and for the transverse openings, however, the builders adopted the pointed arch barrel vault. Each recessed niche is likewise covered by a pointed vault with gable ends with a small opening cut in the outer gable for the admission of light. The roof, as is usually the rule, is placed directly on the vaults and follows its outline in the exterior. That is why the roofs in such temples were not flat terraces but assumed an ogee section following the rise of the vault.

The walls of the temple rise up perpendicularly to a height of about 30 feet, the flatness being relieved by rows of pilasters supporting the cornice above and by two tiers of window openings, each in the shape of a cusped arch springing from smaller pilasters and surmounted by flamboyant ornaments. The cornice mouldings are crowned with a battlemented parapet. The external shape and appearance of the superstructure depend largely on the constructional details, here-in-before mentioned. Over the battlemented parapet rise in succession two roofs over the two circumambulatory corridors, receding as they go up. As they follow the outline of the semi-pointed vault underneath, each of them has a curvilinear outline in the shape of an ogee. They are adorned with a ringed pagoda at each outer corner and are broken at the centre by large projecting dormer windows, built in simulation of the projecting porches and with the object of admitting light into the corridors and on the central sanctuary pile. Above these two roofs rise gradually four receding tiers that serve as the basement for the curvilinear spire, crowned further by a ringed *stūpa*, of an elongated and slender shape, with an iron *hti* as its finial. It should be

remembered that the curvilinear spire along with its basement is sustained by the square sanctuary pile in the centre of the shrine. In vertical section it corresponds essentially to the early form of the curvilinear *śikhara*s of Northern India and like them bulges a little in the middle. Like them too the tower retains its square cross-section all through, and the surface is divided into several *paga* sections. Though the corner *āmalakas* and the crowning *āmalakaśilā* cannot be met with in these Burmese temples, there cannot be any doubt about the origin of this form. The lines of the two super-posed roofs and those of the four flat tiers serving as the basement for the crowning *śikhara* have decidedly a pyramidal effect, which is gracefully balanced by the aspiring lines of the subsidiary ringed pagodas and miniature *śikhara*s rising high above the roofs and gabled porches and ultimately culminating in the soaring outline of the main spire dominating the entire superstructure.

Much can be written about the Ānanda regarding its sculptural and decorative details, but they do not come within the scope of this paper. The brief description, attempted above, gives us an idea of the architectural form of the temple and this form is essentially true not only of other temples of this group but also of those of the other two, as all the groups belong to one common stylistic tradition. The Nanpaya, the only stone temple at Pagan, and the Nagayon, already mentioned beforehand, belong to a date prior to that of the Ānanda. The former is attributed to Manuha, the captive Talaing king of Thaton, and the latter to Kyanzittha, whose name is immortalised as the builder of the Ānanda. By priority in time as well as by architectural form and features they may be regarded as the legitimate precursors of the famous Ānanda. In internal arrangement and external elevation the Nanpaya and the Nagayon on the one hand and the Ānanda on the other closely resemble one another, with only this difference that each of the former two is preceded by a vestibule projecting from one side only, instead of four such on the four sides, as we have in the Ānanda. The internal corridor communicating with the vestibule,

already presupposed in many of the older buildings at Hmawaza and in the Nanpaya, is already an established feature in the Nagayon, while the central square pile, accommodating on each side a figure of Buddha, artificially lighted through a dormer window on each side of the superstructure, and carrying the crowning *śikhara* above, may already be found in the Nanpaya. It will be seen later on that this feature too was not quite unknown in Burma during that period and may be found anticipated in some of the earlier buildings at Hmawza. The difference between the Nanpaya, the Nagayon and the Ānanda is that the last is much more rich and elaborate in composition, so that instead of one projected vestibule on one side there are four on the four sides making the plan more symmetrical and regular in design; instead of one circumambulatory corridor two are provided for in the Ānanda along with a network of transverse corridors cutting and cross-cutting one another. This logical elaboration leads to a perfection of the general design and composition of the temple, without any infringement of the main principles of construction and of the essential architectural form. From the Nanpaya to the Nagayon and from the latter to the Ānanda it is a process of steady evolution, not only to a better and richer design but also to a more symmetrical form.

It should be remembered, however, that in spite of the need for symmetry smaller temples are, as a rule, provided with one projecting porch on the front side, a feature that may be taken as a survival of the early form. Such is the case with the Kubbyaukkyi at Myin Pagan (Fig. 2), built also by Kyanzittha, though it is not known whether it preceded the construction of the Ānanda. The Seinnyet Ama temple, also attributed to the 11th century, has one long portico projection on the front side and a much shallower vestibule projection on each of the other three sides. The Shwegugyi (c. 1141 A.D.), built by king Alaungsithu, the builder of the famous Thatbyinnyu, has likewise a single portico projection with three other vaulted entrance doorways on the other three sides of the square temple. Coming much

later than the period in which temples of this group had been in fashion it bears the stamp of its late date in the more elongated and slender form of the crowning *śikhara*. The Payathonju group consists of three square temples (Fig. 3), standing side by side and joined with one another by vaulted corridors pierced at their sides. On the front side each of the three temples has a small projecting porch. The group has been attributed to a date in the 13th century A.D., but curiously enough each of the three crowning *śikharas* presents an earlier form, not far removed from that of the temples that are dated in the 11th. No such attenuation and elongation of the tower can be noticed here as has been felt in the Shwe gugyi, which antedates the group under notice by approximately a century. It has to be pointed out again that all the temples mentioned above, beginning from the Kubbyaukkyi, present an architectural form and internal arrangement not unlike those of the Ānanda. Instead of the ogee roofs of the Ānanda or of the Nanpaya and the Nagayon, however, these examples are all characterised by flat roofs and from this standpoint some scholars are inclined to class them as a separate group. It should be mentioned, however, that this is merely a minor variation affecting in no way the main composition and form of the temples concerned, and there should be no real objection to class them with the different examples of the Ānanda group of temples.

The Patothamya, alleged to have been built by king Taungthuggyi in the early part of the 10th century, and the Abeyadana, built by the famous Kyanzitha in 1059 A. D., represent a sub-variety of the group, just mentioned. As an architectonic example, the latter appears to have been anterior to the former, which has been traditionally ascribed to an earlier date. In plan, in arrangement and in the main elements of composition the two may be regarded as mere reflections of the monuments of the first group that we have discussed, except in the shape of the crowning superstructure. The Abeyadana represents a square structure, raised on a moulded plinth, with a projecting vestibule on one side having entrance doorways on three sides of it. The vestibule is

partitioned into a central nave and two side-aisles and in the interior of the main square we have the usual circumambulatory corridor, surrounding the solid masonry pile in the centre and lighted with the help of three perforated windows, surmounted by flamboyants, on each of the three sides. In plan thus the present structure closely resembles the Nanpaya and the Nagayon, previously mentioned. Like them too the roof rises in two ogee-shaped tiers directly over the vaults over the corridors, surmounted further by three flat horizontal tiers as the basement for the crowning element. This last, however, presents a variation, not found in any of the monuments, mentioned above. Instead of the curvilinear *śikhara*, usual in such structures, we have the bell-shaped dome of a *stūpa*, complete with the cruciform turret of the *harmikā* and the conical finial of the *chatrāvalī*, as the crowning member of the entire monument. In shape and appearance it closely resembles the bell-shaped *stūpa* monuments of Burma. Each of the ogee-shaped roofs is adorned with a miniature replica of the *stūpa* at each corner, while the main entrance doorway in front of the projecting vestibule is crowned likewise by a similar *stūpa* shrine. The roof of the vestibule as well as those of the main shrine are lined each with a battlemented parapet at each stage. The Patothamya (Fig. 4) resembles the Abeyadana in general arrangement and composition. But the superstructure consists of flat roofs, instead of the ogee-shaped ones, in the lower courses and a ten-sided dome with a corresponding *harmikā* and conical *chatrāvalī* as the crowning element. The plan also exhibits signs of elaboration and apart from the long projection of the portico on the front side there is a shallow offset projection in the centre of each of the three other sides accommodating a rectangular doorway. A miniature square turret appears at each corner of the different stages of the superstructure, as well as at the centre of each stage, corresponding to the projection of the vestibule and those of the shallow offsets. The parapet at each stage of the roof is lined with a frieze of *stūpa* replicas, instead of battlements. Barring these variations, which might

have been due to gradual elaboration in course of time, the Abeyadana and the Patothamya resemble each other closely and must be classed as belonging to the same type of monuments. They differ from the Nanpaya-Nagayon-Ānanda group only in the shape of the crowning superstructure. In plan, in composition and in the main lines of elevation both the groups represent the same conception and the Abeyadana and the Patothamya, each with its bell-shaped *stūpa* as the crowning element, should be regarded as a sub-variety of the Nanpaya-Nagayon-Ānanda group, which has a curvilinear *śikhara* instead.

Fergusson's description that the Ānanda temple is several storeys in height is not borne out by facts, at least in the Ānanda or in others of the same group. It is in the second group, as illustrated in the Thatbyinnyu, the Sulaimani, the Gawdawpalin, the Tilominlo, the Thitswada, etc. that we notice the storeyed type. The general arrangements are fundamentally the same. As in the first group, the ground plan is square with one, two, three or four projections, as the case may be. The central solid masonry pile shoots high up and supports the crowning *śikhara*, exactly in the same fashion that we notice in the Ānanda group. The arrangement of corridors is the same, and the receding pyramidal roof over the vaulted corridors, the elaborate vaulted porches and the high curvilinear *śikhara* are also common to this second group of temples. The general appearance and impression hence present very little variation; but there is a striking difference between the two groups in one important point. The Ānanda and the temples of the Ānanda group all represent one-storeyed structures, but the Thatbyinnyu, the Sulaimani, the Gawdawpalin, etc. exhibit one, two, three or more storeys, set one above the other and approached by narrow flights of steps on one or more sides. The storeyed elevation is responsible for the greater height of the second group of temples; in fact the Thatbyinnyu is the highest in Pagan, being more than 200 feet in height.

As observed beforehand, the Thatbyinnyu, which is, by the way, next in importance only to the Ānanda, is repre-

sentative of this second group of temples. Situated close to the Ānanda, it was built by king Alaungsithu, grandson of Kyanzittha, in 1144 A.D. The word 'Thatbyinnyu' signifies "omniscience", which is one of the attributes of Buddha, to whom it was apparently consecrated or dedicated by the royal builder. The whole structure rests on a square base-ment, with one large portico projection on the main entrance side and three smaller projections for vestibules on the other three sides. The entrance porch consists of a rectangular vaulted chamber, divided into a central nave and two side-aisles, and leads to the solitary corridor running round the solid masonry pile. From two corners on the side of the entrance porch ascend two flights of steps leading to the second storey, which, though modest in height, follows essentially the plan and arrangement of the ground storey, except in the projections of the porch and vestibules. The third storey is approached by another flight of steps from the second one and is raised to a height almost equal to that of the ground storey. The accentuation of the height of this third storey practically dissolves the whole edifice into two vertical sections, and with a porch and three vestibules added to it and the single Buddha image enshrined in a recess on one side of the solid pile shooting across the ground storey, this upper section with the crowning *śikhara* represents the temple proper with the lower one as its elaborate basement. Above the third storey there appears another, approached by flights of steps on all the four sides, which is a repetition of the second storey, though only on a lesser scale. The fifth storey, much reduced in size, enshrines a miniature *pagoda*, and over it there rises the squat and stunted *śikhara* with the ringed finial of the *chatrāvali*. Each storey and each horizontal moulding of the roof is lined by battlements and each corner at each stage is adorned by a miniature tower accommodating a small square vaulted cella. The corridors, doorways and windows are vaulted, the latter two being adorned by flamboyant pediments of elaborate design.

The Thatbyinnyu thus consists of five storeys and accord-

ing to Taw Sein Ko, a former Superintendent of Archaeology in Burma, "the first and second were used as the residence of monks; images were kept in the third; the fourth was used as a library and on the fifth was constructed a *pagoda* containing holy relics."⁷ The cell-like formations in the thickness of the walls (see plan—Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, Vol. II, p. 362, no. 452), open to the internal corridors and with window openings on the outside, might have been used for residential purposes; but such accommodations are comparatively few for a regular monastic establishment and were perhaps meant for the dignitaries of the temple itself. It will be idle hence to suggest that the edifice is "a combination of a *stūpa* and *vihāra*".⁸ It has also been urged that the architecture of the Thatbyinnyu recalls that of the Pallava *rathas* of Mahabalipuram. The conception and arrangement of the Pagan temples are, however, fundamentally otherwise, and whatever affinity can be noticed between the two in outward shape and storeyed elevation might have been purely accidental.

The Thatbyinnyu supplies the model for other temples of this group, in which the type becomes crystallised. The Sulaimani (built by Narapatisithu, 1173-1210), the Gawdawpalin (begun by Narapatisithu and completed by his son Nandaungmya, 1210-34), the Tilominlo (built by Nandaungmya)—Fig. 5, etc. all follow the Thatbyinnyu in general plan and arrangement. A significant distinction may be noticed in the elimination of the intermediate storey of lesser height between the two principal elements of the structure. This intermediate element had no useful purpose to serve and was structurally redundant and its elimination not only leads to a simplification but also to a perfection of the composition. All these temples represent each a square structure with the projection of the main entrance portico on one side and three vestibule projections on the remaining three sides. The ground storey consists of the central solid pile,

7 Taw Sein Ko, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

8 *ASIAR.*, 1903-4.

serving as the altar, with a narrow vaulted corridor all around, while the second storey, resting directly on the tiered flat roof of it, is similarly laid. This upper storey is approached by one or two flights of steps, ascending from the ground storey corridor, while in case of the Sulaimani, we have an external approach from the roof of the portico in the shape of a broad ramp across the horizontal tiers of the roof. The roof of each of the storeys rises in several flat tiers, set back one above the other, each tier being ornamented with battlements. Over the tiered roof of the second storey and in continuation of the central solid masonry block is placed the crowning *śikhara*, surmounted further by the ringed *stūpa* with its pointed *chatrāvalī*. The second storey follows strictly the plan of the ground one together with its portico and vestibule projections. The openings of the doorways and windows are surmounted by flamboyant pediments and the corners at each stage by miniature turrets and shrines. The two storeys are usually of the same height and in all these monuments, especially in the Gawdawpalin and the Thitswada at Pwazu—the latter a copy of the former only on a smaller scale,—the height of the storeys is always emphasised and pronounced. An accentuation of the vertical lines may further be felt in the pointed pinnacles of the flamboyant pediments and of miniature turrets and shrines, which being drawn close to one another, melt in the ascending height of the different storeys culminating in the crowning *śikhara* with its pointed finial. These strong and accentuated vertical lines of the temples of this group present a sharp contrast to the dominating horizontal lines of the Ānanda and other temples of the Ānanda group.

Slightly removed from the two groups, discussed above, there also stand a few temples presenting distinct variations, at least in application, and thus forming a class by themselves. Such temples, however, are very scarce and the few that are now before us compare unfavourably with the monuments of the first two groups, both in appearance and effect. This third group is illustrated best by the Dammayangyi, built by Narathu in the last half of the 12th century A.D. (Fig. 6).

Huge in proportions and the biggest of its kind in Burma, the Dammayangyi has a grim story attached to it, describing how Narathu, the parricide tyrant overtaken by remorse, built this huge pile to make amends for his sins. There is also the tradition that he executed the architect because a needle could be passed in between the two courses of masonry. That the minutest of care was given to constructional detail may be inferred from the fabric of the building representing the finest brickwork in Pagan. The tradition proves that the royal builder was particularly keen on this point.

The ground plan of the Dammayangyi is almost identical with that of the Ānanda, i.e., it is a square with four projections of the porticos on the four cardinal faces. It differs from that of the Thatbyinnyu group in the fact that, as in the Ānanda, the projections are equally emphasised on all the four sides, whereas in the Thatbyinnyu group of temples it is only the main entrance that has been given the prominence in proportion to the projections on the other three sides. The interior arrangement, as usual, is that of the solid masonry block in the centre, forming the altar, with a running corridor all around. There are two parallel ranges of arched windows for providing light into the otherwise dark corridor, a feature that may also be found in the Ānanda. But these are merely resemblances due to a common stylistic tradition and the main point of distinction of the Dammayangyi with the Ānanda may be found in external elevation. Like the Thatbyinnyu group, the Dammayangyi represents a storeyed structure, though a substantial difference exists in the design and lay-out of the upper storeys. The ground storey occupies nearly half the total height of the Dammayangyi and the second storey rests directly on it without any intervening tiered stages. It is much compressed in height, but follows closely the ground storey in interior arrangement. Over the second storey rise five flat terraced stages, set back one behind the other but all of the same height and hence monotonous in effect. Over the last stage rises the crowning *śikhara*, now in a dilapidated condition. At the corners of each stage there appear miniature shrine towers. The

Dammayazaka, built by Narapatisithu, is only slightly later in date. It essentially corresponds to the Dammayangyi and may be classed along with it.

The Dammayangyi and the Dammayazaka partake of several features and elements that may be noticed in either of the two groups, mentioned above. Yet it can neither be classed with the one nor with the other. In spite of a similarity in the ground plan they differ a great deal from the Ānanda, and even with the storeyed arrangement they present a substantial disagreement with the Thatbyinnyu and other storeyed temples of Pagan. It will not be wrong hence to class the Dammayangyi and the Dammayazaka as a distinct group, which may be regarded as an experimental stage, where the elevation of the different storeys wavers between the dignified height of the Thatbyinnyu, the Sulaimani, the Gawdawpalin, the Tilominlo, etc. and the graceful pyramidal tiers of the Ānanda. Instead of the soaring effect of the monuments of the Thatbyinnyu group, we have, in each of these examples, a heavy and stunted effect, the whole edifice, because of the peculiar arrangement of the different storeys, appearing to be weighing downwards. The Dammayangyi is slightly later than the Thatbyinnyu, while it antedates the Sulaimani, the Gawdawpalin, etc. only by a few years. The difference in effect between the two groups of temples thus became too obvious to be missed, and it may be that it was for this reason that the type was not much in vogue. We may even infer that the Sulaimani, the Gawdawpalin, etc. profited by the experience of the Dammayangyi and it is only by carefully grading the heights of the different storeys that the builders of these monuments could attain that aspiring effect of height, which is their chief distinctive characteristic.

The above survey leads to the evident conclusion that in spite of their variations all the three groups belong to one common stylistic tradition. The main elements of composition that mark these temples as belonging to one fundamental style may be recognised, barring minor details, in (1) the square ground plan with one or more projections for entrance

vestibules on one or more faces, (2) the internal arrangement consisting of a solid square obelisk in the centre, serving as the altar and surrounded by corridors or rows of corridors on all sides, and (3) the crowning superstructure, either a curvilinear *śikhara* or a bell-shaped *stūpa* dome, supported on the solid obelisk and surmounting the vaulted roofs of the corridors in receding stages. Whatever variation is noticed among the different groups is in the external appearance of the monument, according as it is storeyed or not, and if storeyed, how the upper storeys have been laid out and designed. But in spite of these variations, the common and distinctive elements, enumerated above, are found to be present in all the groups of temples and bind them together as reverberations of one common architectural style.

Earlier prototypes of this style may be recognised at Hmawza or old Prome in the Lemeythna and the Bebe, which, even in their ruined states, may be said to have been the precursors of the temples, built on so grand and magnificent a scale at Pagan. The Lemeythna (Fig. 7) is a simple square shrine, pierced by four arched doors on the four faces. It accommodates in the centre a solid square obelisk with four figures of Buddha in recessed niches on the four sides. This solid masonry pile is surrounded on all sides by vaulted corridors. The roof is composed externally of three sloping tiers, placed one above the other, in receding stages, the topmost one, which is flat, coinciding with the top of the solid masonry pile in the centre of the shrine. Here in this simple square structure, which is ascribed to a date in the 9th century A.D., can be recognised the plan and other fundamental arrangements of the grand and magnificent temples of Pagan. The internal arrangement of the solid pile with surrounding corridors and the roof rising in receding tiers are distinctive features of the Lemeythna, which cannot be missed. It is not known whether a curvilinear spire (*śikhara*), which usually crowns a Pagan temple, was placed over the roof of the Lemeythna. But something in the likeness of such a spire crowning the tiered roof may be noticed in the Bebe (Fig. 8), also at Hmawza, which, however, presents a different plan.

It is not impossible that the Lemeythna also possessed such a crowning element, or it is quite possible that there had been buildings at this place where the plan of the one and the fundamental elements of elevation of the other had been combined. Remains of buildings, similar in plan to that of the Lemeythna, have also been laid bare at Hmawza,⁹ and there can be no doubt that the famous temples of Pagan, described above, had their beginnings in these simple old structures at Hmawza. The Burmese chronicles say that during the reign of Saw Rahan of Pagan (931-964 A.D.) deputations were sent to Thaton and Prome to take the plans of buildings with a view to reproducing them at the Burmese capital. It is also said that five temples were erected at or near Pagan on these plans.¹⁰ Among the hundreds of temples at Pagan it is difficult to identify these five particular monuments. But it is quite possible that the type of temples, of which we find the rudiments now at Hmawza, found sufficient time to be perfected and established at Pagan before the great building activity began at that city under the fostering zeal of King Anawrahta.

The accommodation of a huge solid masonry block in the centre of a square shrine may appear to be peculiarly strange. It should be remembered, however, that the temples were all constructed of brick and the solid masonry block in the centre proved to be a structural device necessitated by the peculiar design of the building. The fault, spanning the corridor, required solid supports to resist the thrust, and the weight of superincumbent masonry, as it piled up, required a far more solid foundation. This has been provided for by this central solid pile, which shoots right up to the top and supports the crowning superstructure. In the Lemeythna it is seen in its crude beginnings, but this very same device has been adopted in the bigger temples of Pagan on a much grander scale and with much greater skill.

⁹ *ASLAR.*, 1927-28, p. 133

¹⁰ Pe Maung Tin & G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 59-60.

We find just the beginnings of the portico projections in the offsets of the doorways of the Lemeythna, which are already surmounted by flamboyants, though not as overgrown with decorative details as in the temples of Pagan. The long portico, added to the square structure, is a late arrival, and was probably first noticed on one cardinal face only, as we have in the Nanpaya, the Nagayon, the Abeyadana, etc. at Pagan. A fully evolved symmetrical style, however, demands four projecting porticos of equal lengths on the four sides, a condition that is satisfied in the Ānanda and several other temples of Pagan. The corridors are roofed by semi-pointed arches, which take the shape either of sloping or flat tiers externally. Thus the roof gradually goes up in receding stages until the top of the solid pile in the centre is reached. On this last tier is supported the curvilinear *śikhara* (or bell-shaped dome of the *stūpa*) which is crowned by the *stūpa* with its highly elongated finial of the *hti*. Every element in every stage is designed to converge to that one single point soaring high up in the vacant space of the horizon.

The question of the association and connection of the style of temples, that we have just discussed, has led to much speculation. At first sight they present remarkable dissimilarity with anything standing on the continent of India and Fergusson, with reference to the storeyed temples at least, wanted to trace the origin to Babylonia. "On the whole, however," says he, "I am inclined to believe, improbable as it may at first sight appear, that their real synonyms are to be found in Babylonia not in India." Though he was aware that it would be a more probable explanation to say that such monuments might have existed in the great Gangetic cities, but have perished due to the inclemency of weather and hostile vandalism, he was almost dogmatically sure that these storeyed temples of Burma were the lineal descendants of Baylonian examples.¹¹ This hypothesis of Fergusson,

¹¹ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, (second edition) p. 365.

it need not be stressed, is not only too far-fetched but also too improbable to stand the test of reason. Duroiselle at one time ascribes the origin of the Pagan monuments to North-Eastern India, tempered by influences from other Northern countries;¹² but later on he observes that these temples "have been fashioned after South Indian models."¹³ The only affinity with South India may be found in the storeyed arrangement of the second group of temples, but this affinity is purely accidental, because not only is there a fundamental difference in the general conception and plan of a Pagan monument, but the design and lay-out of the storeys themselves are radically dissimilar. Quaritch Wales' description of the Ānanda as "a South Indian temple crowned by a north Indian *śikhara*"¹⁴ does not bear scrutiny, as here even this storeyed arrangement, the only association with South India that can be postulated, is absent. The typical curvilinear spire as the crowning element of the whole superstructure suggests Northern India as the country, wherefrom the style could have been possibly derived. Duroiselle himself has changed his opinion of late, and with recent advances in our knowledge of Eastern Indian archaeology he has tried to trace connections and associations that may not be far off the mark.¹⁵

A number of terracotta votive tablets, which are some of the oldest objects that have so far been discovered in Pagan, bear miniature replicas of shrines, each of which exhibits a particular type of temple consisting of a roof of several receding tiers, ultimately crowned by a high curvilinear spire of the Northern Indian type and with a *stūpa* as its finial. These tablets no doubt represent simple relief replicas of the famous Pagan monuments, and as such, though eliminating the details, they miss no essential element of the Pagan style

¹² *Rep. AS. Burma*, 1914, p. 16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 18.

¹⁴ Quaritch Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

¹⁵ Chas. Duroiselle, *The Ānanda Temple at Pagan, MASI*, no. 56.

of temples and closely resemble them in general elevation. During the excavations conducted at old Prome there have also been laid bare a stone sculpture in fragments and a terracotta votive tablet, each with the representation of a similar type of temple.¹⁶ There can be no doubt that both at old Prome and at Pagan there existed temples, similar in design to those shown in relief on these votive objects, a fact that is amply testified by the fairly large number of examples that still stand in both these places. The miniature representations of temples on these tablets and the stone sculpture closely tally with a similar type of temples, illustrated in several sculptures from Bengal and in a painted sketch labelled as a temple of Buddha in Northern Bengal.¹⁷ Here too we find a temple with a roof, consisting of a series of receding tiers, supporting a curvilinear *śikhara* as the crowning element. That such temples were also in existence in Bengal and Eastern India in the early period may be inferred from the rather fair number of such sculptured and painted illustrations, and considering the active contact of Burma with this part of the Indian mainland, the suggestion that the type of temples, that we are used to see at Pagan, was derived from Bengal or Eastern India may not appear to be wholly improbable. It is the total disappearance of the prototypes in the land of its origin, which is responsible for the fanciful conjectures, that have hitherto prevailed.

The systematic excavations at Paharpur (Rajshahi district, Bengal)¹⁸ have yielded a fragmentary example of the type of temples, that we find represented in miniature in ancient Bengal sculptures and paintings. The ground plan consists of a gigantic square cross, resulting from the addition of a number of projecting planes on each face of a central square. The temple rises in three terraces, with a circumambulatory corridor, enclosed on the outer side by a parapet wall around

16 *ASIAR*, 1927-28, pp. 131-32, Pl. LV.

17 S. K. Saraswati, 'Temples of Bengal', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. II, pp. 135-6.

18 K. N. Dikshit, *Excavations at Paharpur*, *MAI*, no. 55.

the monument, in each of the upper two terraces. Unfortunately the temple is in a much damaged state and the superstructure, the method of roofing and other details regarding the main shrine are difficult to ascertain. The arrangement of the gradually rising terraces with circumambulatory corridors would appropriately suggest a roof rising in receding tiers and a high and gradually tapering tower on the top of it, in imitation of the representations of similar temples on the sculptures and in paintings that have been known from Bengal. These representations supply an undeniable clue to the missing superstructure of the Paharpur temple, and such kind of an elevation does quite fit in in the logic of arrangement of this colossal edifice. The similarity between the relief replicas of the type as found in Bengal and Burma is striking and there is also a general resemblance in appearance between the extant examples of the type—Paharpur on the one hand and the Pagan temples on the other. The tradition that the Ānanda temple, an early example of the Pagan style, was designed in the likeness of the Nandamula grotto on the Gandhamādana mountain¹⁹ may be pure legend. But the resemblances of the Pagan temples with the Paharpur monument cannot be lightly passed over. Duroiselle writes thus with reference to the Ānanda: "The cruciform shape in plan, the enormous central pile and circumambulatory corridors of the Ānanda may also be traced, as their ultimate origin, to the temples in Bengal, as exemplified by the Paharpur temple."²⁰ He was even of opinion that the architects who planned and built the Ānanda were Indians, and though built in the Burmese capital, it was practically speaking an Indian temple.²¹

It should be pointed out, however, that the points of resemblance between the Pagan temples and the Paharpur monument are merely in exterior elevation. Neither in conception nor in plan and interior arrangement can the two

19 Pe Maung Tin & G. H. Luce, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

20 Chas. Duroiselle, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

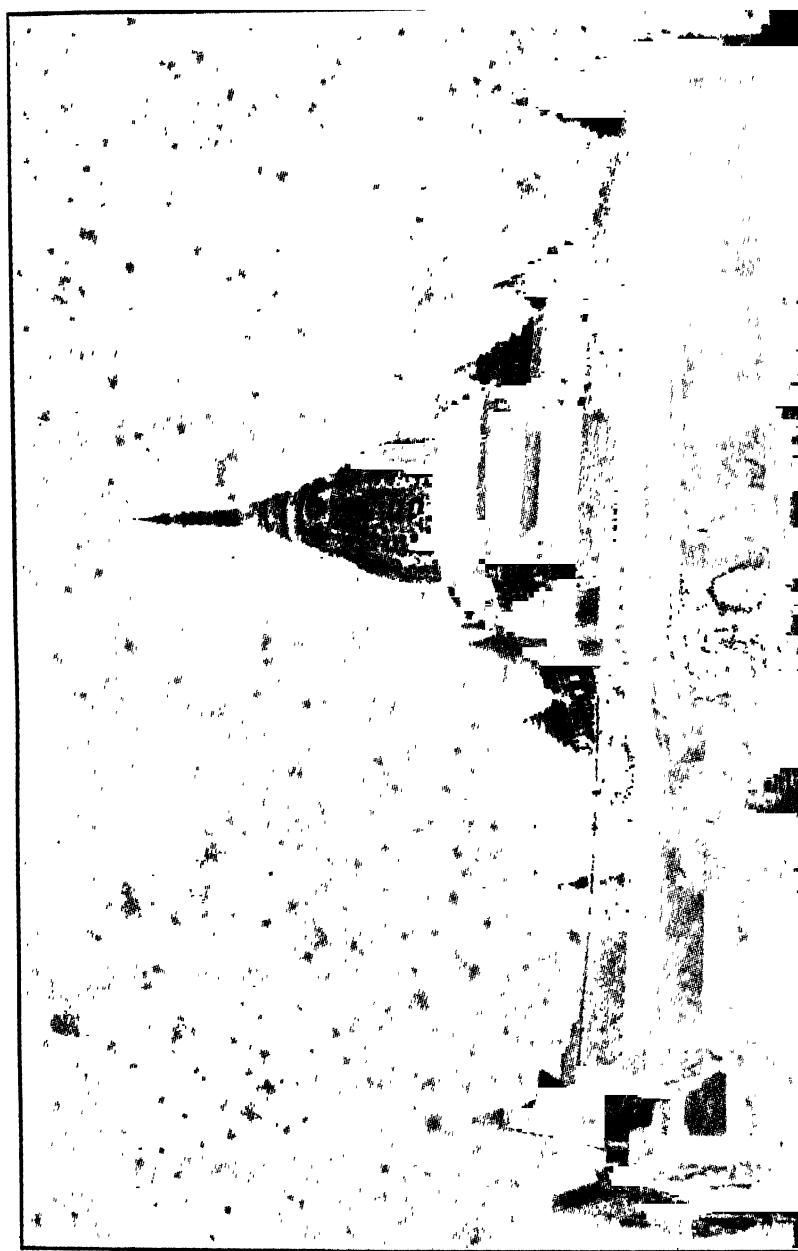
21 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

be equated with each other. The respective ground plans, though in effect somewhat similar, are wholly dissimilar in original lay-out and arrangement. In the Pagan temples the cruciform shape is the result of the addition of projecting porticos on each face of the square structure, whereas at Paharpur it is the result of the addition, at each lower terrace, of a rectangular structure on each cardinal face. At Paharpur we do not notice the use of the intersecting corridors, as in the Ānanda, whereas in the Pagan temples we do nowhere find the terraced form of construction that forms the chief distinctive characteristic of the Paharpur monument. The Paharpur temple rises in several terraces and the circumambulatory corridors, following the plan in every detail, were placed at different levels. The central square of the Paharpur temple is in the shape of a hollow obelisk, instead of the solid ones in the Pagan monuments, though it can hardly be doubted that like those of the Pagan temples its purpose was to support the curvilinear *śikhara* that crowned the tiered roof in the centre. But apart from these distinctions, the two types of monuments—one at Pagan in Burma and the other at Paharpur in Bengal—present strange resemblances, so far as the exterior elevation of each is concerned. The cruciform shape, however different the origins, is there, so also the roof in several receding tiers—in the one the result of the method of spanning the different corridors, in the other the result of the process of roofing the different terraces. The curvilinear tower as the crowning element, that we notice at Pagan, may also be said to have existed at Paharpur, supported on the hollow obelisk of the central square, on the analogy of the replicas of similar temple types on the sculptures and paintings of Bengal. Some of these, e.g. the stupendous character of the monuments, the tiered elevation of the roofs, etc., are more or less inherent in brick construction to make up for the limitations of the material. The former was resorted to to lend greater stability to the building. The latter is a pre-destined condition where gaps have always to be spanned by vaulting, and that too in separate stages where the space was too wide to be spanned

by a single vault. It should be remembered also that Paharpur belongs clearly to an earlier period; the close connection between Eastern India and Burma and still further is an established fact; and though we cannot lend support to the observations of Duroiselle in toto, considering the fundamental difference in the conception and arrangement of the two types of monuments, yet in view of the closer similarity of the two in exterior elevation, it would not be unfair to think that the shape of the Indian monument afforded a possible scope for imitation by the Burmese architects. It cannot be doubted that some of the features, taken piecemeal, had been derived from those of the Indian prototypes; but their co-ordination into a single and well-balanced whole had been due, in a very large measure, to the genius of the local builders. The plan of the square structure with a solid obelisk in the centre, forming the sanctum proper, and a circumambulatory corridor is a conception, which is unknown in India, and "although the style of the Pagan temples and *pagodas* in its large and principle lines, can ultimately be traced to North-Eastern India, it has characteristics all its own, which entitle it to rank as a style apart."²²*

22 *Rep. AS. Burma*, 1914, p. 16.

* In illustrating this paper the author has selected the less known monuments in preference to such celebrated examples, as the Ānanda, the Thatbyinnyn, etc., which have been so often reproduced. Care has been taken, however, to pick out the typical specimens only in order to demonstrate fully the various topics under discussion.



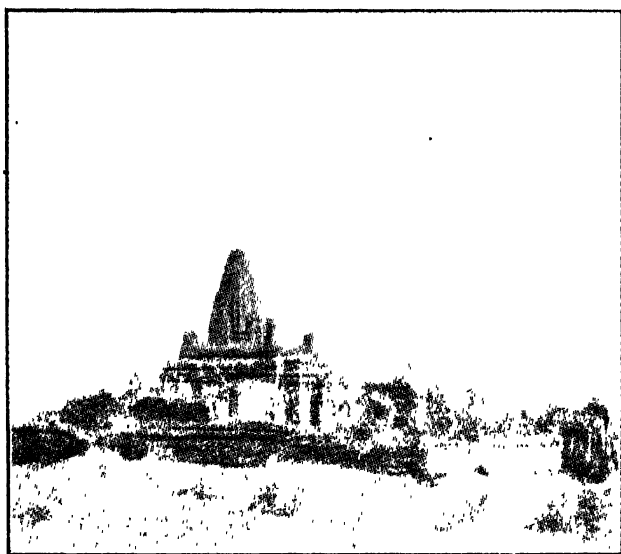


FIG. 2

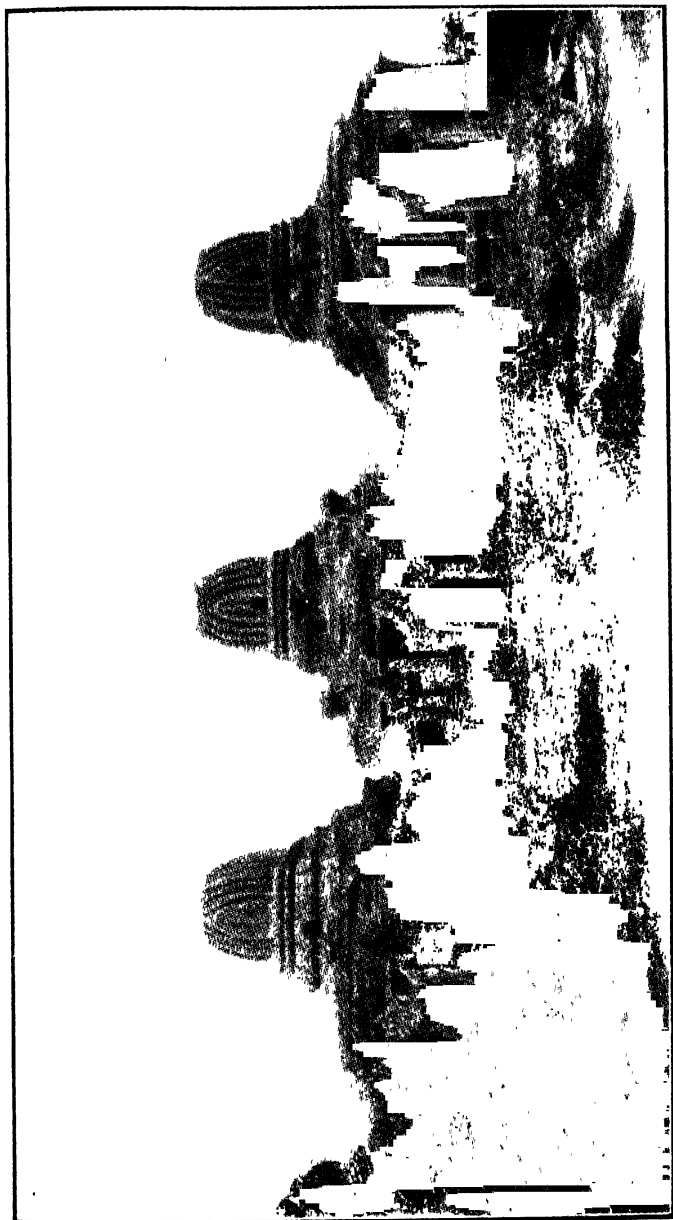


Fig. 3

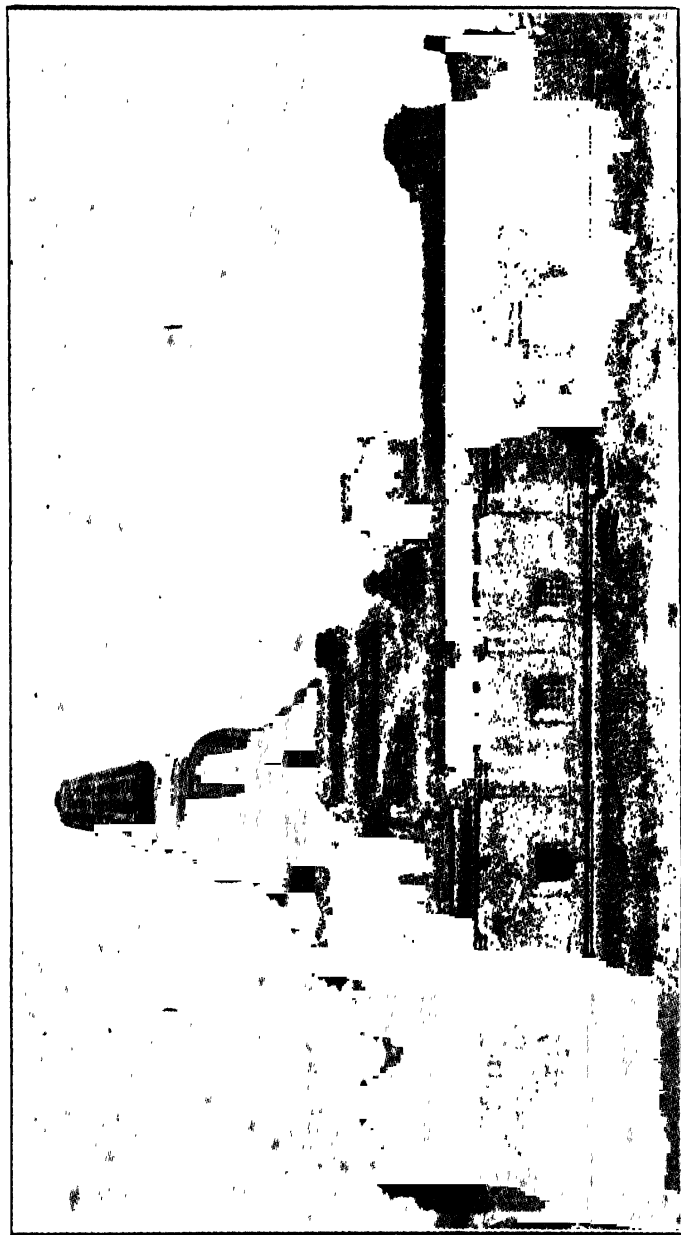


Fig. 4

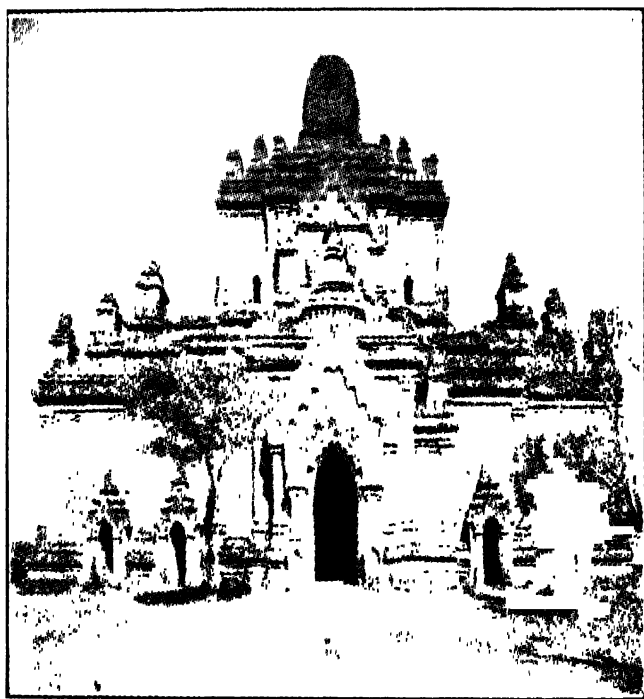


Fig. 5

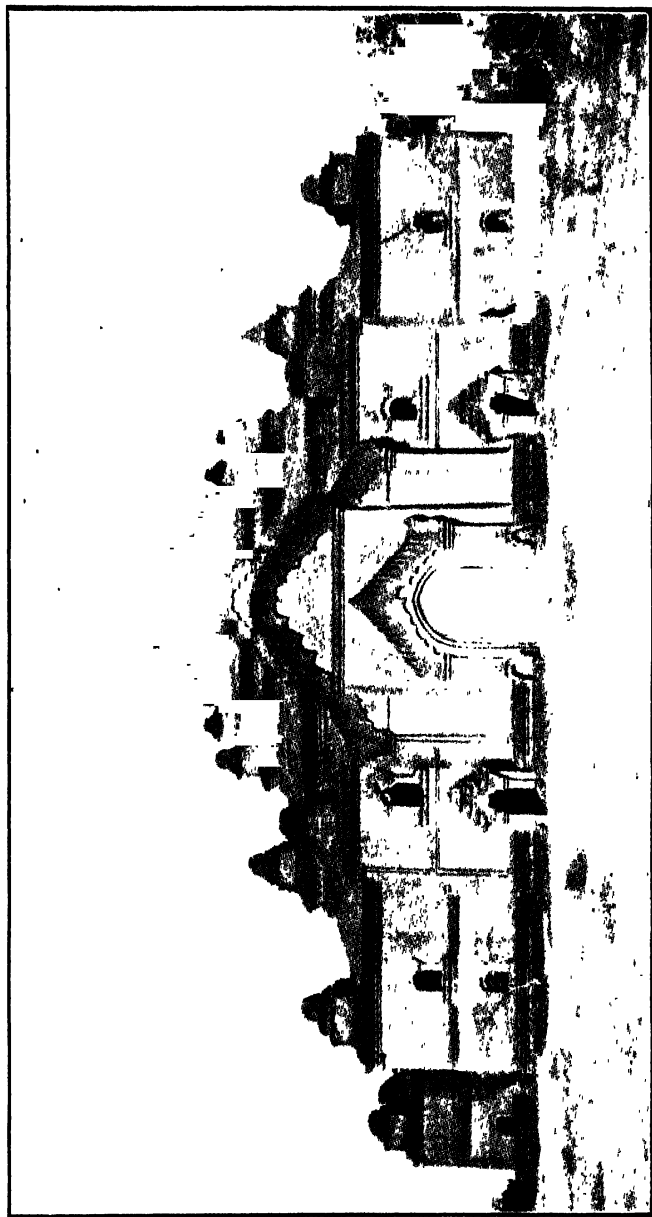


Fig. 6

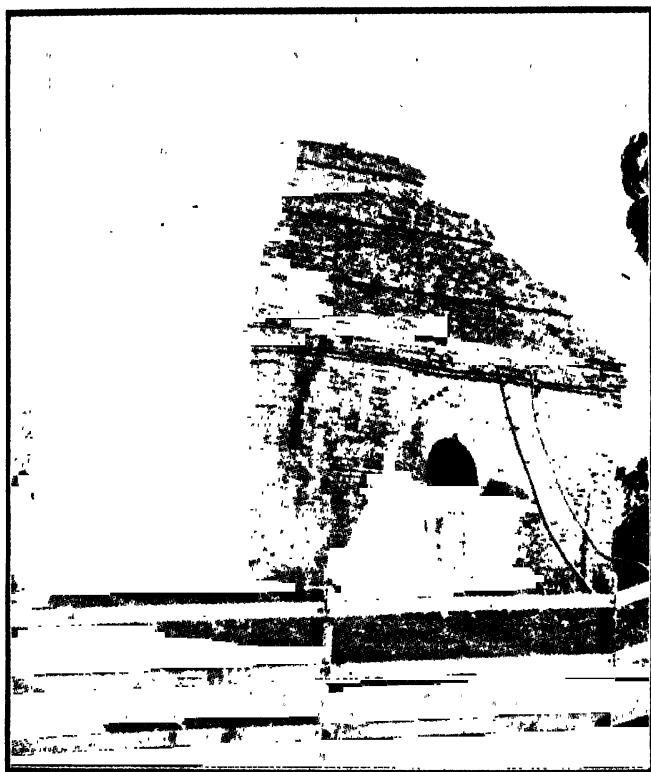


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Physical Anthropology of the Existing Veddahs of Ceylon, Part I. By W. C. Osman Hill, M.D., F.R.A.I., Professor of Anatomy, Medical College, Colombo. (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. III, Part 2, Section G. Anthropology : July 10, 1941). Pp. 25—144, 23 Plates.

The Veddahs form a very interesting people from more than one stand-point. They are found practically in all stages of economic development from the cave-dwelling hunters to permanent cultivators. Physically also they are distinct from the surrounding people and possess a large number of interesting infantile characters. These facts attracted numerous anthropological investigators during the last 70 years or so, who tried to study the people—both from physical and cultural standpoints. Prof. Seligman's study of the cultural life of the Veddahs is still a model of one type of ethnographic work. The works of Virchow (1881) and the cousins Sarasins (1886 and 1892-93), published in German, have so far been the basis of our knowledge of the physical anthropology of the Veddahs, though the latter also dealt with the cultural life of the tribe. Carnial studies have since been made by Thomson, Turner, Lüthy, Morant and Woo and osteological by Thomson and Turner. The author's justification for plodding the same path again lies in the facts that the tribe is dwindling away rapidly and that he is the only man who has measured and dissected two complete Veddah cadavera. Moreover he claims to have examined "at one time or another, probably every individual existing Veddah worthy of the name."

The book is divided into ten sections. In the first one the author gives his reasons for taking up the study. This is followed by an account of the previous works on the Veddahs both physical and cultural. The history and present status of the tribe is next briefly dealt with. The author derives the name "Veddah" from the Sanskrit word "Vyādha" (hunter) through the Sinhalese term Vāddā.

They are, according to him, the autochthones of Ceylon. The stone implements found in different parts of Ceylon are attributed to them and some sections of them used these implements even when Sarasins and Seligman worked among them. In the fourth section Dr. Osman Hill gives us the present distribution and classification of the tribe. He rejects Sarasins' classification into Jungle Veddahs, Village Veddahs and Coast Veddahs as "the first two divisions are of little value today." The author divides the tribe on purely geographical basis into two parts—the northern one called Tammankaduwa and the southern one known as Bintenne Veddahs. The effects of climate, diet and occupations are dealt with in the fifth section. The author states that "the essential part of the Veddah's food is composed largely of flesh derived from the hunt." But is it true of all the sections of the Veddahs? Maize, millet, yams, honey and numerous other wild produce of the jungle also enter into their menu and form the more important part of it according to earlier ethnographers. The nature of Veddah settlements, according to the author, has led to "intense inbreeding with consequent tending to stabilization of physical characters within the clan." This has not been proved with facts and figures. It is unfortunate that the author has not devoted more attention to these ecological considerations for which he is most competent. This would have put the work in line with the contributions of modern physical anthropology.

The sixth section of the book gives a very detailed description of the external characters of the present day Veddahs. We have already stated that the author claims to have seen almost every individual Veddah worthy of the name and collected "somato-metrical data of the majority of the males, besides other notes on both sexes." The number of Veddahs in Chief Headman's Divisions according to 1921 Census returns is 4510 (App. II). This, probably, includes mixed groups. The author has given in Table III measurements of 27 male Veddahs and in Table IV their indices. This is rather a small number in view of the claims

made. Moreover, even all these 27 are not true Veddahs according to the admission of the author himself (see p. 74). On the top of Table III he mentions that the measurements were taken "with Martin's anthropometer and instrumentarium", but he does not give us any clue as to the technique of measurements employed which renders these valuable records practically useless for comparative purpose. He also does not state the particular classification which he has adopted for the present study, and this naturally causes difficulty in following his description.

The average stature of 32 adult Veddahs is 1515mm. and they fall "into the group of dwarf-races" according to the author. "Relatively the head is small; the trunk long, the arms long and the legs variable. Hands and feet are small". The chest is small and the belly short and round with a tendency to protrude. The skin is smooth and soft as in a child and has a matt surface with a tinge darker than that of the average Tamil, Sinhalese or Malay. The manner of stating the skin-colour is unscientific. Hair on the body and face are scanty. They are black, long, fine and wavy or slightly spirally coiled. The eyebrows are of the "narrowing" type. The average Veddah head is dolichocephalic, hypsicephalic and acrocephalic. The forehead is high, narrow but not always receding. The face is slightly prognathous with a small height and great width. The author describes the nose of the true Veddah as "markedly chamaerrhine—the average nasal index being 78.25" Neither Haddon nor Martin includes this figure (78.25) within the chamaerrhine group which begins in both the cases with 85.0. In Table IV on the other hand the average nasal index is given as 77.82 and classified as mesorrhine. The Veddah, according to Dr. Hill, approaches the Australian in many bodily characters. The author's definite assertion that the Kadirs are a South Indian Negrito tribe (p. 79) shows that even a competent anatomist may fall into a trap while dealing with physical anthropology of the old type.

The seventh section of the book is very valuable as the author there gives a detailed account of all the Veddah

skulls available at different museums, universities and private collections with the exception of Sarasins' collection deposited in the University of Basle. The characteristic features of each skull have been carefully noted and described with great patience. The skulls fall into two main types. "The majority, which may be taken as pure or reasonably pure Veddahs, form a remarkably uniform assemblage distinguished by their small size, light build, and by a fairly regular cranial form associated with short, wide face, chamaerrhine nasal aperture and broad, squat jaws and palate." They resemble the South African Bushman skull on the one side and the Australian aboriginal skull on the other. The other type is formed by the half-bred Veddah" and is large and heavily built. It is dolichocranial with a greater relative height and deeper, narrower face and jaws. In the skull the typical Veddah face is short and broad with an average facial index at 85.6 and the nasal bridge is saddle-shaped and has an average index of 56.6. There are 23 half-tone illustrations, besides numerous sketches, showing the different physical characters of the people. The book has a long bibliography and two appendices showing the number of Veddahs in different parts of the island.

The book is not yet complete; the remaining parts of the skeletal system will be dealt with in Part II. Though it is not proper to express any opinion on an incomplete work, we may, from what we have already gone through, assure the anthropologists that the beginning augurs well. It is refreshing that the author has not attempted to theorise on his data, but at the same time we cannot desist from remarking that if he had paid more attention to Veddah ecology, the people and the government of the island would have been benefitted in a greater measure by his studies.

TARAK CHANDRA DAS.

The Development of Hindu Iconography. By Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A., Ph.D., Published by the University of Calcutta, 1941., pp. xvi+459.

This is one of the most important contributions to the

study of Hindu (specially Brahmanical) Iconography that have appeared in recent times. As the author observes in his Preface, the standard work of T. A. Gopinatha Rao called *Elements of Hindu Iconography* suffers from two grave defects, namely, failure to explain the development of iconographic types more specially with the help of Ancient Indian coins and seal devices, and neglect of the earliest monumental and epigraphic data. The author who has to his credit years of experience as a post-graduate teacher on the subject, has made it his aim to fill this void. In the present volume he deals with general principles of Hindu iconography and the early iconographic types represented on Indian coins and seals. Two later volumes are expected to deal with the numerous Hindu cult images and their accessories.

The present work consists of eight chapters bearing the titles *Study of Hindu iconography*, *The antiquity of image worship in India*, *The origin and development of image-worship in India*, *Brahmanical divinities and their emblems on early Indian coins*, *Deities and their emblems on early Indian seals*, *Iconoplastic art in India*, *Iconographic terminology*, and *Canons of Iconometry*. Three Appendices (App. B containing a revised text with annotated translation of an old Iconometric work called *Pratimāmānalakṣaṇam* along with the text and translation of some select verses from Ch. 57 of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira), two Indices and a series of ten Plates (illustrating the early Indian coins and seal devices, the reverse figures on coins, seal impressions and the like) conclude this valuable monograph.

No analysis can convey an adequate idea of the admirably comprehensive scope and scientific thoroughness of the present work. On the varied topics coming within his purview the author writes not only with full knowledge of the literary and archaeological data and the opinions of leading authorities, but also with commendable sobriety of judgment and keenness of insight. The result is a systematic and up-to-date work which should be indispensable to all students of the subject.

We propose to make a few observations. In his first chapter giving a preliminary and general review of his theme, the author might have pointed out the close inter-relation of the Iconography of India and of Greater India, to which works like Alice Getty's *Ganeśa* bear witness. The author's explanation of the significance of Hindu iconography is sound, and his classification of materials for its study is pretty nearly exhaustive. But the occasion might have been utilised in the first instance for emphasising the grand sentiments underlying such outstanding creations of the Hindu genius as the Sarnath Buddha of the Gupta Age, the Ajanta Bodhisattva and the Chola Naṭarāja of the Madras Museum. Reference might have been made in the latter case to the terracotta seals as distinguished from seals attached to the copper-plate grants.

On the significance of the human and superhuman figures appearing on the Indus Valley seals of the pre-historic period, the author expresses himself more cautiously than other scholars like R. P. Chanda. For he says (p. 46) that the character of these figures as cult objects cannot be determined with certainty so long as the script and the language of the Indus Valley people remain a mystery. But the pose of these figures who are represented as seated or standing in various postures known to the later Yoga and as being attended by worshippers leaves little room for doubt about their sacred character. On much less cogent grounds the snake-Goddess of the Minoan people has been identified as such.

The author's discussion (pp. 46 ff.) *anent* the highly important question of the prevalence of image-worship in the early Vedic period is thorough and judicious. He is right in holding (p. 53), as indeed is proved by the analogy of the ancient Iranian people, that the Vedic religion and religious practice could have no place for image-worship. In this connection he very properly stresses the significant silence of the early Brāhmaṇas about images and idols. Referring to two R̥g Vedic texts (IV, 24. 10 and VIII, 1. 5), the author concedes (p. 65) that they refer most likely to some sensible

representations of the God Indra. But he still thinks that they were not images or objects of worship. "They were in all probability meant for *abhichāra* purposes," and as such they cannot be placed "on the same footing with the images of the sectarian gods of the subsequent period" (pp. 65-66). The author finds (pp. 66-68) parallels for such Indra representations in the 'golden man' included among the foundation deposits of the fire-altar according to a Taittiriya Saṁhitā text, as well as in the plaque in human form from the Lauriya Nandangarh burial mound and the goldleaf female figure from the Piprawa relic casket. But it is difficult to understand how the sensible representations of the most typical Indo-Aryan deity could be, as stated in the Rg Veda verses above quoted, objects of purchase and sale even for *abhichāra* purposes. May not the references be after all to special prayers of the god or special modes of offering sacrifice in his honour that were supposed to be in possession of certain privileged individuals or families? This hypothesis would of course negative the existence of Indra representations of any kind in Rg Vedic times. As for the 'golden man' it is supposed by the author to have a partially sacred character, since a Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa passage identifies it with Prajāpati, Agni and even the sacrificer himself. In our opinion too much stress should not be laid on such identifications which are quite in the Brāhmaṇa vein. It was a custom among many communities for human beings to be buried alive in the foundations of structures, sacred or profane. May not the 'golden man' of the Taittiriya Saṁhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa passages be a relic of such a custom prevailing among Indo-Aryans in very ancient times?

In connection with the present question of existence of image-worship in early Vedic times, the author discusses (pp. 69-73) the significance of the expressions *śisnadeva* and *mūradeva* occurring in a few Rg Vedic texts. Unhappily Sāyaṇa's explanation of these difficult terms, which the author quotes at some length, is of little use. For *śisnadeva* Sāyaṇa gives two different explanations which point to the

non-existence of a continuous exegetical tradition in his time. In fact Yāska's explanation (*śiśnadevā abrahma-caryāh*) which Sāyaṇa himself quotes proves that the original cult-significance, if any, of the term had already been forgotten even in that early period. The author (p. 70), while giving a qualified support on Sāyaṇa's authority to the latter significance, seeks to strengthen his conclusion by reference to the numerous phallic objects from Indus Valley sites which have been interpreted as cult-objects of a people culturally different from the Indo-Aryans. But is it not strange that no other passage of Vedic literature, for all that we know, seems to mention the term *śiśnadeva* or to contain any explicit reference to phallic worship? As for the parallel term *mūradeva*, Sāyaṇa's equation with *mūḍha-deva* on which Wilson based his translation ('those who believe in vain gods') and A. C. Das his still more improved version ('persons who believed in and worshipped images which were lifeless and senseless objects') is philologically impossible. Philologically, the true equivalent of *mūradeva* is *mūladeva* ('those whose gods are roots'). Cf. Geldner, *Der R̥gveda in Auswahl*, Glossar, s. v. The author, it should be observed, gives a qualified support to Das's view. Elsewhere (p. 78) he throws off this reserve and definitely takes *śiśnadeva* and *mūradava* as examples of opprobrious epithets applied by the Indo-Aryans to the children of the soil.

In connection with his admirable account of the origin of image-worship in India, the author (pp. 80 ff.) seems to connect the rise of the later sectarianism with sundry R̥gvedic and Upaniṣad texts anticipating in his view one or other of the constituent elements of the *bhakti* doctrine. But the Bhakti element in these passages, as the author himself admits, is shadowy and exceptional. Equally significant is the fact noted by the author (p. 84) that the originals of the later sectarian gods were not Vedic deities but were human heroes or mythological beings. May not the rise of sectarianism with its concomitant of image-worship be due not so much to modification of the old Vedic religion as the

reassertion of indigenous cults dating probably from very early times?

The author's listing (pp. 94 ff.) of the post-Vedic literary and archaeological data for image-worship is very valuable so far as it goes, but he might have thoroughly exploited the rich material of the early Buddhist and Jaina literatures to which he just refers (p. 90). Attention might also have been drawn to the significant fact that the two sets of data often corroborate each other. To take a few examples, the mention of Vāsudeva worship in Pāṇini (p. 95) has its parallel in the supposed references to Vāsudeva shrines in the Ghosundi, Besnagar and, Mathurā inscriptions, (pp. 100-105); the reference to Śiva worship in Patañjali, Kauṭilya and the *Māhabhārata* (pp. 96-98) may be matched with the author's identifications of Śiva symbols and figures on coins going back to the second and third centuries B.C., (pp. 127, 131); the worship of Yakṣas ('Mahārājas') referred to by Pāṇini (p. 95) has its counterpart in the Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī figures found at Patna, Besnagar, Didarganj and Pawāyā (pp. 107-108).

Great value attaches to the author's identifications (pp. 122 ff.) of Brahmanical divinities and their emblems on early indigenous and foreign coins. In many cases the author supplements or rectifies the views of such well-known numismatists as Cunningham, Gardner, Whitehead and Allan. We are however tempted to ask whether what the author identifies (pp. 125-7, 130-1) as emblems or figures of Śiva on a number of pre-Christian coins may not after all refer to some archetype or prototype of this god.

Equal credit belongs to the author for his luminous survey (pp. 173ff.) of deities and their emblems on early Indian seals. Here the author very properly begins (pp. 174 ff.) with the prehistoric seals and sealings of Indus Valley sites. He includes within his scope not only the well-known seals of Basarh and Bhita, but also the as yet unpublished seals of Rajghat. In the course of his survey he frequently revises and rectifies the views of such authorities as Marshall, Spooner and Bloch. The author's omission of a detailed

analysis of the Nalanda seals is no doubt explained by the delay in publication of the long expected monograph of Pandit Hirananda Sastri on the subject.

The chapter on Iconoplastic art in India (pp. 219 ff.) reproduces from the standard works a very valuable series of texts relating to the manufacture of wooden, metal and stone images as well as stuccos, frescoes and *paṭas*. It is interesting to be told (p. 232) that a process similar to the *cire perdue* method of Western artists was known to ancient India under the name of 'bees' wax' (*madhūcchiṣṭa*).

The following chapter (pp. 267 ff.) describes with a great wealth of illustrative detail and adequate references a large number of technical terms relating to Hindu iconography. Among the topics dealt with are hand-poses (*hastas* and *mudrās*) of different kinds, different varieties of postures, seals and pedestals, ornaments including the head-gear and coiffure, drapery and nimbus, and, last but not the least, the weapons and implements of the deities. In the last chapter (pp. 336 ff.) dealing with iconometry, the author explains various kinds of measurements used in image-making and specially the two units called *aṅgula* and *tāla*. In this connection we are treated (pp. 362-366) to an interesting comparison of Indian canons of proportion with those in vogue among Egyptians and Greeks as well as with those followed by modern Western artists.

We have noticed a few misprints (not included in the list of *Additions and Corrections* at the end) which may be corrected in a later edition. Such are Morganlandischen (pp. xvi and 437), A. C. Coomaraswamy (p. 125n), Antialkikas (p. 162), cow (p. 329), M. Lalou (242n), Yarde (p. 278n.). We have also come across a few lapses of transliteration of which a glaring example is the quotation from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* beginning with *apaṇya iti* (p. 95).

Altogether the present work is a model of painstaking, thorough and fruitful research which does credit to its learned author.

India and the Pacific World. By Dr. Kalidas Nag, with foreword by Ramananda Chatterjee. Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1941, pp. viii+295.

The author's aim, as he tells us in his informative Introduction, is to correlate "the monumental and artistic materials" of Pacific culture with "their anthropological and pre-historic contexts," "to trace the history of the Far Eastern civilization from the age of the Peking Man and the Java Man to the age of the modern antiquarians." He modestly disclaims the intention of delineating the history of Man in Asia as "a harmonious series of frescoes," and he offers his present volume as an "attempt to work the diverse materials and their interpretations into some sort of a mosaic." That a work of this compass was urgently needed to broaden the painfully narrow outlook of our people cannot be gainsaid for a moment. As Mr. Ramananda Chatterji writes in course of his appreciative foreword, "The real position of India in ancient pre-historic and proto-historic times with the world, particularly with Asia and America as the background, has still to be perceived even by scholars.....The cultures which grew up in Oceania and Polynesia and generally in countries washed by the Pacific Ocean and which most probably influenced the aboriginal American cultures, are not yet adequately recognised. Still less recognised is India's part in the bringing about of inter-continental contacts and the fusion to a greater or less extent, of cultures separated by oceans as regards their places of origin." Such being the importance of the theme, it must be admitted that the author has enjoyed almost unique opportunities for doing justice to his task. Deriving his inspiration from the master-mind of Rabindranath Tagore to whom the work is aptly dedicated, the author was enabled by a happy concurrence of circumstances to make frequent visits between 1924 and 1938 to the lands and peoples of the Pacific practically as one of India's cultural ambassadors.

The present work consists, besides a well-written Introduction and Conclusion, of twelve chapters having the

following titles:—*The Pacific basin—a cultural survey, Cultural migrations in Oceania, Maori land and culture, The Polynesian world, The peoples and cultures of the Philippines, India and the Archaeology of Malaysia and Indonesia, Art and Archaeology of Thailand, Art and Archaeology of Indo-China, Art and Archaeology of Sumatra, Java in Asiatic history and culture, China in Asiatic history and culture, Japan in Asiatic history and culture.* There are besides three Appendices, a map and a good Index.

A glance at the above list of contents is enough to convince even the casual reader of the enormous range of the author's studies which extend over the whole region of the Pacific world from pre-historic down to quite modern times. Not only the pre-history and proto-history, but also the art and archaeology during the historical period of the countries dealt with in turn are described with a truly amazing amount of documentation. The author lays under contribution an enormous mass of publications extending to the most authoritative and up-to-date works many of which are almost inaccessible in this country. Frequently he gives adequate bibliographies and lists of museums and other centres of study and research in the Pacific lands which he describes so well. His personal reminiscences not only give him an opportunity for remembering with gratitude the scholars, art-critics and public men of many lands and nationalities who helped to make his tours fruitful, but also lend to his descriptions a touch of vividness which no amount of mere book-learning would have conveyed.

The author's views of the relation between Indian and Pacific cultures, which indeed form the theme of his work, can best be expressed in his own eloquent words which we quote from his concluding chapter (pp. 283-4). "The expansion of Indian culture into the Pacific world is a grand chapter of human history.....What parts of this cultural complex could reach the Eastern Pacific basin and New World are problems for future anthropologists and antiquarians.....This colossal cultural drama is reappearing to us like an ancient mutilated play with many acts and

interludes still missing which future research alone would probably restore and reconstruct. But whatever portions have already been recovered inspire us with awe and admiration.....There was no sordid chapter of economic exploitation or political domination in the development of Greater India which, coming as a legacy from Emperor Asoka of 3rd century B.C. continued for over 1000 years to foster the fundamental principles of *maitrī* (fellowship) and *ṛāṇa* (universal well being) which form the bed-rocks of Hindu-Buddhist idealism." We have no doubt that every reader of this arresting volume will share the author's firm conviction so well stated in his concluding sentence, that "Civilized Humanity will ultimately triumph over all the savage instincts of destruction," for, as he finely says in words that might come from the lips of Rabindranath Tagore, "Drowning the temporary typhoons of wars and violent conquests, the voice of the Universal Man is ever ringing in our ears, and the corridors of History are reverberating [with] the music of human sympathy".

U. N. Ghoshal

A Translation of the Kharosthī Documents from Chinese Turkestan by T. Burrow, M.A.. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1940. Pp. 147, with an Index of some special words annotated or commented.

Mr. Burrow has worthily followed up his exceedingly valuable *Language of the Kharosthī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge 1937), which gives a historical study of the Prakrit speech current some 1700 years ago in what is now Sin-Kiang (or Chinese Turkestan) to the east of Khotan, by the present volume giving a translation of all the 760 documents—letters, reports, official orders, judgments etc.—which were discovered at Niya, Endere and Lou-Lan (Lopnor) sites by Sir Aurel Stein and others and are now preserved in London and Delhi. According

to traditions preserved in Buddhistic literature Indian settlers from the North-west took their Prakrit language into Khotan (Kustana) in the 3rd century B.C., and with the political and cultural forces of India behind them they were enabled to attain to a position of importance among the original inhabitants of the land who were partly Iranians (in the west, including Khotan) and partly 'Tokharian,' allied in speech to the people of the Tarim Valley in the northern part of Sin-Kiang (in the east, comprising the old towns of Caḍ'ota, Sāca and Kroraine). These Indian settlers took Buddhism (and possibly also Brahmanism) with them, and although they inevitably merged into and were assimilated by the local peoples, they appear to have preserved their language for over half a millennium, and this language, strongly modified by the local speeches, was the language of administration and culture in that area in the early centuries of the Christian era. Sin-Kiang was the earliest land of Greater India in Central Asia, and there documents written in the Kharoṣṭhī script on materials like wooden tablets and bits of leather present some of the oldest contemporary documents of an Indo-Aryan speech. As such their importance in the study of Indo-Aryan linguistics, particularly of the Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) and New Indo-Aryan (Bhāṣā or Vernacular) stages, can be well understood. Some years ago the late Professor E. J. Rapson of Cambridge published the entire corpus of these documents from Sin-Kiang in a Roman transcript. The nature of the language at once became apparent with its first decipherment, and the late Prof. Rapson, Professor F. W. Thomas, Dr. Sten Konow and Prof. T. Burrow all worked to unravel it, and with Burrow's grammatical study mentioned above and the present translation this ancient Indian dialect as used in Central Asia has at last been made accessible to all students.

It is remarkable how an Indian speech obtained the position it had among peoples of different origin in Central Asia some 2000 years ago. Doubtless the prestige of India

in politics as under the Mauryas, in religion, and in commerce, was there; possibly also the Indian language served as a *Lingua Franca* among the Iranians and Tokharians as well as some Turks and a few Chinese who lived there, and furnished a bond of union among the local peoples. The linguistic importance of this Prakrit dialect, current among Indians of the extreme north-west, and possessing some Dardic affinities, is indeed very great. A good many linguistic innovations which we associate with new Indo-Aryan are already there in this Middle Indo-Aryan speech. It has a respectable Iranian vocabulary, and some words of the other local speech which was allied to Tokharian; and its phonetics—and probably also its grammar—were profoundly modified by Tokharian. Numerous words have not been explained; the present work continues the earlier attempt at explaining these unknown vocables. Still in the absence of a bilingual text to guide us, it is remarkable how modern scientific linguistics has succeeded in winning this language back from oblivion.

The documents themselves in Prof. Burrow's translation form a unique mass of material for studying the economic, social and cultural environment of life in Chinese Turkestan some 2000 years ago. There is an astonishing revelation of the life of the people, as all these documents are secular and ephemeral in nature, and are not religious and hieratic. The people of the kingdom of Shan-shan or Kroraina with their disputes in connexion with their slaves and their camels, their lands and other possessions and their women, their pastures and vineyards, and rugs and felts, present themselves before us as a community singularly like the Turki-speaking settled population of the present day (Sin-Kiang) with a background of Buddhist monks (who marry and have families) and of monasteries in place of the present day Mohammedan *mullās* and mosques. The letters and official orders as well as complaints and petitions and deeds are all very human in their nature; the society was primitive, although the administrative and judicial systems were imported from more civi-

lised and sophisticated lands like India, Persia and China. This human quality of the documents which has not been suppressed in Professor Burrow's translation, in spite of its being strictly philological and literal, will have its appeal for a wider public than specialists in Indology and in Central Asian studies: and students of human civilisation will not be able to ignore a set of documents like these. One of the main interests for these documents, so far as we Indians are concerned, of course lies in connexion with the picture of a Greater India in Central Asia it presents itself before us; but we cannot shut our eyes to the wider vistas of life and culture opened through these Prakrit documents from Niya and Endere and Lop-nor.

Suniti Kumar Chatterjee

A short Guide to Padmanabhapuram. By R. Vasudeva Poduval, B.A. Director of Archaeology, Trivandrum, 1941, pp. 4+6 Plates.

Travancore Inscriptions—A topographical list. By the same. Trivandrum 1941, 341 pp.

These two publications from the pen of the Director of Archaeology, Travancore State, testify as much to the author's zeal and enthusiasm in the cause of archaeological research as to the enlightened patronage of His Highness's Government.

In the first work the author gives short descriptions (with a ground plan attached) of a group of buildings in the old palace at Padmanabhapuram the ancient capital of Travancore, which is famed in an eighteenth-century Sanskrit work as the Ujjain of the South. These structures of which the earliest dates from c. 1335 A.D. are built in the traditional Malabar style of architecture "with pointed gables, dormer windows and long corridors." They include a dancing hall with granite columns, a three-storied palace with some sixteenth-century mural paintings of Hindu divinities and a quadrangular building for annual worship of the Goddess

Durgā. There is besides an archaeological museum containing stone inscriptions, sculptures, copperplates and coins "dating from the 8th to the 18th century A.D." and a number of historical portraits. While we are grateful to the author for his interesting descriptions, we could have wished for some further illustrations of architectural detail, and a more copious account of the treasures of the museum (including the reproduction of the unique historical portrait depicting the defeat of the Dutch off Padmanābhapuram in 1741 A.D.).

The second work is a very useful compilation of inscriptions from the Travancore State arranged serially according to localities and listed under the heads:—*place of inscription, dynasty, king, date, language and alphabet, remarks*. How varied even in form these inscriptions are will best appear from the number of languages represented (Tamil, Malayalam, Sanskrit and even Pahlavi, Arabic, English, Dutch, and Latin) as well as of alphabets used in them (Vaṭṭeluṭṭu, Tamil, Grantha, Malayalam, Nāgarī, Arabic and so forth). In case a new edition of this work is called for, we would suggest the addition of complete references for the inscriptions and of an Index.

U. N. Ghoshal

A Report on the Working of the State Museum, Pudukkottai for Fasli 1350 (July 1, 1940—June 30, 1941), Pudukkottai, 1941, pp. 35 + 3 Plates.

This is a record of the praiseworthy activities of the Museum done during the year.

Among the interesting acquisitions in the Archæology and Art sections are an eight-armed bronze image of Nṛsiṃha (a type not noticed in T. A. Gopinatha Rao's classical work on Hindu Iconography) and the earliest known inscriptions (dating from the 9th and the 10th centuries) mentioning the famous Tamil merchant-guild whose records are found not only in some other centres

of Southern India, but also in Ceylon, Siam, Sumatra and Burma. It is good to learn that the useful collection of South Indian musical instruments has been arranged during the year under convenient heads. As regards archaeological exploration proper, the department has to its credit the excavation of a unique Śivite temple belonging to the late Pallava and early Chola styles, and of a Jaina temple of late Pallava style. Students of Indian archæology will be gratified to learn that steps have been taken by the authorities for the protection of the far famed frescoes of the cave at Sittannavasal. A number of useful appendices (including one on a list of conserved monuments and another on the inscriptions noticed during the year) brings this useful publication to a close.

U. N. Ghoshal

Editorial Notes

Under the joint auspices of the Mahabodhi Society and the Greater India Society, Father Heras of the Bombay St. Xavier's College delivered an interesting and well-attended lecture on the *Expansion of Mohenjo-daro Culture* at the Mahabodhi Society's Hall, Calcutta on the 8th November 1941. With a large array of data derived from Comparative Philology, Mythology and Religion the learned lecturer proceeded step by step to trace what he belived to be the connexions of the Indian Culture with the culture of the Ancient Sumerians, Hittites, Phoenicians, Minoans, and even of Pelasgians, Etruscans, Basques of Spain and Celts of the Stonehenge. At the end of his lecture Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, who presided on this occasion, paid a warm compliment to the lecturer for his very suggestive address, while mentioning the philological and other difficulties in the way of acceptance of some of his conclusions.

* * * * *

The Managing Committee of the Greater India Society has to thank the authorities of the National Council of Education, Bengal for renewing their generous annual grant of Rs. 400/- only for 1941. The Committee takes this opportunity to convey its heartfelt thanks to its respected President, Sir P. C. Roy, for a donation of Rs. 100/- which is also very welcome.

* * * * *

A series of popular lectures on the Culture of Bengal and Greater Bengal were arranged by the Greater India Society last year in accordance with the terms of its collaboration with the National Council of Education, Bengal. The dates of these lectures with their titles and the names of the lecturers are given below:—11th August at 5-30 p. m.—*Origin of the Bengali Language,*

By Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji; 12th August at 5-30 p. m.—*Origin of the Bengali Language*. By the same; 26th August at 5-30 p.m.—*Religion in Early Bengali Literature*. By Dr. Sukumar Sen; 16th September at 5-30 p.m.—*Religion in Early Bengali Literature*. By the same; 3rd December at 6-30 p.m.—*The Culture of Greater Bengal*. By Dr. Kalidas Nag. The other lectures arranged for delivery during December 1941 and January 1942 had to be regretfully postponed owing to the worsening of the international situation.

* * * * *

The following letter has been received by the Secretary, Greater India Society :—

“Royal Asiatic Society,
74, Grosvenor Street, London, W.I.
12th December 1941.

“Sir

“My Council would greatly appreciate an exchange of its Journals and other publications for yours,

“(2) With regard to back numbers, as soon as the sea communication is safer and more rapid, it would be prepared to send its Journals etc. for the period since the inception of your Society in return for your back Journals etc.

“I should add that your Journal is highly appreciated here, and it would appear that only accident has prevented a previous *rapprochement* between our Societies,

Yours faithfully
(Sd). F. Davis
Secretary”

The Managing Committee of the Greater India Society has gladly accepted this offer.

In Memoriam

Edward Denison Ross (1871-1940)

Sir Edward Denison Ross, remembered in India as the energetic principal of the Calcutta Madrassa, Bengal's premier centre of Perso-Arabic and Islamic studies and one of the oldest educational institutions set up by the British in India, and later on still more famous as the Director of the School of Oriental Studies in London, was a British Orientalist of distinction who in his spirit of adventure and love of the romantic East had something of the great Elizabethans about him. He was attracted by the peoples of the Near East—Turks, Arabs, and Persians, and he studied the languages and literatures of these peoples with some of the greatest masters in Europe—E.J.W. Gibb, Charles Schefer, Baron Rosen and Theodor Nöldeke. Not content to be an arm-chair scholar, he visited the lands of the East when a young man, Central Asia included; and he worked in India from 1901 to 1914. Here he extended his linguistic attainments, and made a name for his scholarship. From 1916 to 1937 he was Director of the newly founded School of Oriental Studies in London, and his Indian experiences combined with his wide scholarship and wider interests helped him to build up the school into one of the most important centres of linguistic and orientalist research in Europe. With his adventuresome temperament he found it difficult to spend his time in retirement, and in 1939 he went to Istanbul as a member of the staff of the British Embassy here. Eminent Turcologue that he was, he found a fitting resting place in that city, death claiming him there at the age of seventy-one.

Ross's scholarship was not pedantic and dry-as-dust book-learning. The many Indian students (including the writer of this slight tribute to his memory) who had the privilege of sitting at his feet in the school of Oriental Studies in London were perhaps more impressed by Ross the man—

rarely they had opportunities of being impressed by Ross the scholar unless they studied with him some Persian, Arabic, Turkish or Tibetan text or Central Asian Islamic history. His heartiness and his ready sympathy and helpfulness won the affections of all who came in touch with him. The present writer attended Ross's classes in Persian at the school during 1920-1921, and followed some of his lectures on diverse subjects, and he retains a vivid and a grateful memory of the way in which Ross used to make with notes and anecdotes culled from the vast fields of Persian, Arabic and Turkish the reading of a work like the *Chahār Maqāla* so living and so interesting to the small class that used to meet. Ross had not forgotten his Bengali after five years when I saw him in 1919; and the occasions that I had of meeting him and talking to him revealed quite unexpectedly a scholar steeped in the lore of Asia, who was at the same time genuinely anxious for the welfare of the young aspirant to scholarship who had come from Calcutta, for which place he seemed to have a warm corner in his heart. It made one feel quite at ease to be addressed by the Director as 'my boy.' In building up the tradition of modern scholarship in India, Ross certainly had a share through the School of Oriental Studies: and this fact was gratefully remembered in India when a *Ross Commemoration Volume* was organised from Poona by Indian scholars sometime before his death. An old colleague of Ross's, and one of his successors to the principalship of the Calcutta Madrasa, the late Dr. M. Hedayat Hosain also used to acknowledge his indebtedness to Ross as the great inspirer in his studies. I had the privilege of meeting Sir Edward again in 1935 at the School of Oriental Studies, and once again in 1938 at the International Congress of Orientalists in Brussels, and he was the same hearty scholar, with the kindly twinkle in his eyes and his cheerful smile.

As a great orientalist with whom the study of the medieval East particularly was a passion, as an educator who both in and outside India helped to bring about a renaissance in Indian scholarship, and as one whose work was signi-

ficant in reviving Tibetan studies in India through the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in strengthening the study of Persian and Arabic in our country, he has deserved from the Greater India Society a respectful homage to his memory.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Jaarboek, VIII, 1941.

[In the present year-book we have a report on the activities of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences for the year 1940 under the following heads: Pre-historic collections, Archaeological collections, Historical collections, Ceramic collections, Ethnographic collections, Library, MS. collections and publications. Under the first heading particular attention is drawn to what is called *pacul* (a spade-like object without handle), the first of its kind found so far. A kettle-drum of the type of Heger IV also deserves attention, although the place of its discovery is unknown. A bronze hatchet (no. 4367) ornamented with two eyes is supposed to represent a link between Dong-Son and western culture. As appears from the list, the pre-historic collection is extremely rich.

The archaeological collection has been enriched during 1940 with the addition of 333 objects of which 41 are gold objects, the rest are made of silver, bronze, stone or terracotta. Several objects were also made over to the Society as gifts. Of these special attention deserves to be paid to 3 stone *yūpas* with inscriptions of 4th—5th centuries A.D., the gift of the Sultan of Kutei to the Government of the Dutch Indies. The script is described as Pallava and the record is that of king *Mūlavarman*. It probably forms a set with that edited by Kern in 1882. Dr. J. L. Moens presented a copper-plate inscription of the time of Balitung. The find-spot is doubtfully supposed to be Banjarnegara. Another plate of the same king is no. E. 75. The head of the Buddhistic image from Central Java and a gold-plate inscription in Old-Jav. script were presented by Baron von Oetzen. A fine stone-image, no. 7377, is doubtfully described as that of Agni. From the collection of Lie Hwat Gie, Surakarta, the Society obtained the stone-image of a sitting goddess, which is supposed to be that of

Vajrāṅkuśī. Its find-spot is unknown. In no. 7165, the sitting image of Gaṇeśa on one side of the stone and a dancing male figure on the other engages our attention. A bronze image of Avalokiteśvara with Amitābha on the head-dress was purchased from the collection of Liem Tjoe Tjwam at Magelang (no. 7100). An unusually beautiful glass-vase with representations from the *Rāmāyaṇa* is also reported. No. 7102 is variously supposed as Kuveri or Dhanada-Tara. E. 76a-c consist of 4 copper-plates (of which one is lacking) in East-Jav. script and referring to Rayung. It is from Ngajung, Lamongan. No. 7204 is supposed to be a deified mortuary image. A standing image of Durgā has been found from Camplong, Pamekasan, Madura (no. 7207). No. 7216 a-g consist of 7 fragments of a gold plate with Old-Jav. inscription. A four armed Śiva from Getasan, Semarang, also deserves our attention. Among others, nos. 7377 (image of Agni), 7378 (four-armed standing Viṣṇu), 7380 (image of Vajrāṅkuśī?), 7382 (sitting four-armed Gaṇeśa) and 7385 (standing Mahākāla) deserve special mention.

The historical collection is mainly from modern times and there is nothing of particular interest to engage our attention. Other sections also contain nothing of special importance. The year-book is precise in its descriptions and contains some excellent plates].

Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en Volken-Kunde, 1941, 81, afl. 4.

Een interessante Kěṇḍi van Trowoelan by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim—[The writer describes a kěṇḍi, a kind of pot, discovered from Trawulan, near which the remains of the *kraton* of Majapahit were sought. The kěṇḍi contains the sketch of something like a *ḥavandha* with inscription which is supposed by Dr. Poerbatjaraka to be old-Sundanese. The figure approaching to the likeness of a *ḥavandha* (Bal. lawejan or Jav. gěmbung-gěmbung, San hjang Tulah Palisaja) is traced to Indian parallels in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The pot is supposed to date from the 14th century and is connected

with the journey of the Sundanese king to Majapahit, which explains the Sundanese inscription of the pot near Majapahit].

Nogmaals de Sanskrit inscriptie op der steen van Dinojo by J. G. de Casparis—[The Dinaja inscription is re-edited here with emendations of previous readings. Some of these emendations have new historical significance. The royal genealogy, though mainly agreeing with that of Bosch, eliminates Prada. According to the new reading the name of the kingdom is Kañjuruhan, which is brought in connexion with the hamlet Kejuran on the Kali Merto and with the Old-Jav. official title *Kanuruhan* in such titles as *raḡai kanuruhan*].

Enkele Balische Spelen (II) by Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel—[Describes some Balinese games].

Tijdschrift voor Indische taal- land- en Volken-Kunde, 1941, 81, afl. 3.

Enkele historische en sociologische gegevens uit de Balische oorkonden by Dr. R. Goris—[The historical and sociological data contained in Balinese inscriptions ranging from 882 to 1342 A.D. are treated in a systematic way with the writer's comments thereon. What is needed however, is the publication of text of all inscriptions known so far, the preparation of dynastic and topographic charts, the compilation of lists of important words together with the collection of the social and religious data. This would require years of arduous and patient labour].

Strophe 14 van de Sanskrit-Zijde der Calcutta-Oorkonde by R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka—[Offers some improvement in the reading of the 14th strophe of the Calcutta inscription (Sanskrit) and re-edits the Old-Jav. face of the same transcribing full names of some historical personages which appear in mutilated form in other inscriptions].

Bulletin de l'École Française d' Extrême-Orient, Tome XL, (1940) Fasc. 2., Hanoi, 1941.

Śrī Vijaya. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. [A comprehensive, critical and up-to-date review of the much discussed history of this kingdom under the following heads: (a) Introductory, (b) Beginnings of Śrī Vijaya, (c) The earliest inscriptions, (d) Śrī Vijaya in the 8th century, (e) The Śailendras, (f) Śrī Vijaya in the 10th century, (g) Śrī Vijaya and the Cholas, (h) Śrī Vijaya in the 13th century, (i) Last days of Śrī Vijaya, (j) Notes on Śrī Vijaya art.]

Études Cambodgiennes. Par G. Coedès

XXXIII *La destination funéraire des grands monuments khmers*. [Discusses the purpose of several stone cubes recently brought to light by the Conservation of Añkor. At first sight they appear to be sarcophagi for the dead. Examination of this hypothesis would throw new light upon nature of the great monuments of Añkor. Royal cult consisting in erection of portrait-statues of kings attested by Cambodian epigraphy, as also in India, Champa and other countries of Exterior India. Word *dharma* used in final stanzas of inscriptions at Añkor epoch signifies what the king has received from his predecessors and transmitted to his successors what assures transmission of legitimate royal authority, of the hereditary royal substance. Custom of placing sarcophagi within Khmèr monuments seems certain and is analogous to Javanese-Balinese custom, On the question in dispute between M. Przyluski and the writer viz. whether Añkor Vat is a temple or tomb, the writer's present opinion derived from a more thorough study of Javanese-Balinese data and the recent discovery of sarcophagi in the Añkor monuments is that it is both a temple and a tomb. Añkor Vat is the last residence of a being who enjoyed in his life-time certain divine prerogatives and who has been assimilated to a deity after death. It is the funerary palace in which reposes his mortal remains and

where also stands his statue representing him under divine features. The expression 'funerary Temple' proposed by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch or the term 'mausoleum' might properly be applied to monuments of this type.]

Les traces de l'introduction du bouddhisme à Luang Prabang. Par Paul Levy.

[Utilises the data derived from four statues in the round and one long inscription discovered by the writer in the course of a recent tour in Laos.]

Notes d'architecture birmane. Par Henri Marchal.

[Study of two typical monuments of classical period of Burman architecture; (a) a temple at Hmawza (Śrīkṣetra or Old Prome, capital of the Pyu), (b) a small temple at Pagan (later capital). First specimen shows that vaults with keystones of converging joints were known in Burma in the 8th century A.D., the supposed date of the monument. This mode of construction which is general in all the ancient temples of this region is not found before the 13th century either in India or in Java or in Siam or in Cambodia. It is the vault in horizontal courses in corbel which was the general rule throughout the mediaeval Far East. This little temple is the prototype of Burman temples at Pagan; by the simplicity of its plan (an inner rectangular hall preceded by a porch) and the superimposed fronts enclosing one another in the façade, it anticipates the general character of the Burman temples of the 11th and 12th centuries. The second temple has in the inside a central group in masonry with a surrounding corridor, a feature found neither in Java nor in Cambodia, nor in Champa but occurring equally well in Hindu architecture. It shows the same kind of construction as temple No. 1. Origin of the arch with keystone in Burma could only be looked for in China, since at this epoch this process of construction was unknown in all neighbouring lands.]

U. N. Ghoshal

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following periodicals and books during the last six months.

Periodicals

- 1 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXII, Parts I-II, 1941 and vol. XXII, Parts III-IV, 1941.
- 2 Do *Index to volumes I-XXI (1919-1940)*.
- 3 *Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol. VI, Part I, 17th February, 1942.
- 4 *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Report for 1940-41*.
- 5 *Djawa*, 21st Jaargang No. 6, November, 1941.
- 6 *Fiftieth and Fifty-first Annual Reports of the Adyar Library, 1935-1937*.
- 7 *Fifty-fourth Annual Report, Adyar Library, 1939-40*.
- 8 *Indian Culture*, vol. VII, No. 4, April, 1941.
- 9 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVII, No. 3, September 1941.
- 10 *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XX, Part 2, August, 1941.
- 11 Do Do vol. XX, Part 3, December, 1941.
- 12 *Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati*, vol. II, No. 2, July-December, 1941.
- 13 *Journal of the Thailand Research Society*, vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, November, 1941.
- 14 *Man in India*, vol. XXI, No. 4, October-December, 1941.
- 15 *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, No. 10, January, 1940.
- 16 *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. XXXIII, No. 1, July, 1941.
- 17 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land-en-volken kunde*, Deel LXXXII, Aflevering I, 1942. Batavia.

Books, pamphlets etc.

- 1 *Arabica & Islamica*. By U. Wāyṛiffe. Luzac & Co., London, 1940.
- 2 *A Report on the Working of the State Museum, Pudukkottai* for Fasli 1350, July 1, 1940 to June, 30, 1941. Pudukkottai, 1941.
- 3 *A Short Guide to Padmanabhapuram*. By R. Vasudeva Poduval, B.A. Trivandrum, 1941.
- 4 *Catalogus der Praehistorische Verzameling*. Door Dr. A. N. J. Th. d Th. van der Hoop, A. C. Nix & Co. Bandoeng, 1941.
- 5 *Grammatica van het Waropensch*. Door Dr. G. G. Held. A. C. Nix & Co., Bandoeng, 1942.
Rapporten 1938. Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genotschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, 1941.
- 6 *Ramayana Polity*. By Miss P. C. Dharma, M.A., D. Litt, The Madras Law Journal Press. Madras, 1941.
- 7 *Sichule Texte*, von Dr. Hans Kähler. A.C. Nix & Co. Bandoeng, 1940.
- 8 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. IX. By R. Vasudeva Poduval B.A., Trivandrum, 1941.
- 9 *Travancore Inscriptions—A Topographical List*. By R. Vasudeva Paduval B.A. Trivandrum, 1941.
- 10 *Woordenlijst van het Waropensch*. Door Dr. G. J. Held. A. C. Nix & Co. Bandoeng, 1942.
- 11 *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, Numbers twenty-three and twenty-four. *Excavations in the Ft. Liberté region*, Haiti. By Frselich G. Rainey. *Culture of the Ft. Liberté region*, Haiti. By Irving Rouse. London, 1941.

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NO. 2

EDITED BY

U. N. GHOSHAL

Article :	PAGE
Progress of Greater Indian Research during the last twenty-five years (1917-42) (U. N. Ghoshal)	59
Notices of Books :	
Majid Khadduri, <i>The Law of War and Peace in Islam: a study in Muslim International Law</i> (Kalidas Nag); René Guénon, <i>East and West</i> (Kalidas Nag); P. C. Dharmā, <i>The Rāmāyaṇa Polity</i> (U. N. Ghoshal).	143
Editorial Notes :	148
Additions to our Library	149

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1. To organise the study of Indian Culture in Greater India (i.e. Serindia, India Minor, Indo-China and Insulindia) as well as in China, Korea, Japan, and other countries of Asia.
2. To arrange for publication of the results of researches into the history of India's spiritual and cultural relations with the outside world.
3. To create an interest in the history of Greater India and connected problems among the students in the schools, colleges, and Universities of India by instituting a systematic study of those subjects and to take proper steps to stimulate the same.
4. To popularise the knowledge of Greater India by organising meetings, lantern lectures, exhibitions and conferences.

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No. 2

**Progress of Greater Indian Research
during the last twenty-five
years (1917-42)**

BY U. N. GHOSHAL

AFGHANISTAN

The systematic investigation of the ancient sites in Afghanistan dates only from 1922, when, thanks to the initiative of Prof. A. Foucher, France acquired from the Afghan Government a thirty years' monopoly for archaeological exploration in the country. The opportunity thus presented in a land, to which access had for some long time been barred with seven seals, was eagerly utilised by a brilliant band of French scholars who gave to the world the results of their wonderful discoveries in a series of magnificent volumes (in French) called *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan*. These works have revealed to us numerous traces of great schools of art—of sculptures in stucco and clay and of mural paintings—of the 3rd-4th to the 7th-8th centuries, to which have been given as indicative of their complex composition, the designations of "Graeco-Buddhist" and "Irano-Buddhist" art. Fragmentary as they often are, these objects of art represent fresh and vigorous offshoots of the decadent school of Gandhāra and form in their turn, as has been

well said, "an ante-chamber to the art of Central Asia" (René Grousset). For it was there that grew up those schools which were destined to attain their full development at Khotan, Kucha, Turfan and other famous Central Asian centres. We can only find time to describe in the present place some of the more important discoveries that have rewarded the labours of the French archaeologists. On the site of Haḍḍa (known as Hi-lo by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims and reputed to contain a collar-bone and a tooth of Buddha), J. J. Barthoux discovered between 1925 and 1928 the remains of a vast ancient city with hundreds of *stūpas* and thousands of stucco sculptures. The results thus obtained were given out in two elaborate volumes (*Les Fouilles de Haḍḍa*; tome III, *Figures et figurines*, Paris 1930; *Ibid.*, tome I, *Stūpas et sites*, Paris, 1933). The former contains reproductions with short descriptions of 478 sculptures, mainly all heads, in stucco representing figures of Buddhas demons and warriors, which were found among the ruins of the 531 *stūpas* excavated at Haḍḍa, while the latter gives a minute account of the methods of constructing the *stūpas* and attached buildings as well as of the structures belonging to seven different areas. It is interesting to learn that the *stūpas* exhibit a development of the depressed forms of Bharhut and Sanchi towards more elevated, slender and graceful types, as they generally consist of "a double square basement supporting two cylindrical drums which in their turn are surmounted by a third low drum and a dome." The stucco figures, comprising those of Buddhas, of deities and demi-gods and of groups of human worshippers indicate a masterly execution far surpassing the conventional and effeminate products of the Gandhāra school. Another famous site which has been examined by the French scholars is the cliff of Bāmiyān renowned from early times for its colossal Buddhas and its innumerable decayed cave shrines and monasteries. Between 1922 and 1924 this famous group of monuments was thoroughly examined by A. Godard, Mme. Y. Godard and J. Hackin. In their great work called *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*,

(Paris 1928), they reproduced a number of frescoes which have been rightly described as the earliest extant Buddhist paintings after those of Ajantā (Caves IX and X) and Miran. These paintings of which the earliest go back to the 5th or 6th century A.D. exhibit a strange medley of Indian, Iranian and Chinese influences. In the above-named work the authors also described the famous colossal Buddhas and illustrated with adequate plans and designs the equally famous Buddhist caves. A new series of excavations undertaken at Bāmiyān by J. Hackin and J. Carl in 1930 led to the discovery of one of the oldest caves (dated c. 3rd century A.D.) in the vicinity of one of the colossal Buddhas. Other discoveries consisted of Sanskrit Mss. in birch-bark as well as an octagonal grotto in the adjoining cliff of Kakrak with decorative paintings indicating Iranian influences. These finds have been described with adequate illustrations in Hackin and Carl's work *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, (Paris 1933), where attention is drawn to the characteristic blending of Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic influences on this local art. The Iranian element, indeed assumed from the end of the 5th century such an important part as to justify the application of the epithet 'Irano-Buddhist' to the later art of Bāmiyān. The Sanskrit Mss. from Bāmiyān were edited (J.A., 1932) by the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi, who identified them as comprising fragments of Abhidharma texts of Mahāyāna schools, of the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṃghikas and of a rare Abhidharma text of the Sarvāstivādins. While the French explorations at Haḍḍa and Bāmiyān have yielded the happiest results, discoveries of striking interest have also been made at less known sites. At the hill of Khair Khāneh, north-west of Kabul, J. Carl excavated in 1934 the remains of a most interesting temple recalling the construction of the Śivite temple of Gupta times at Bhumara in Central India. Another discovery was that of a unique Sūrya image in white marble showing distinct influences of Iranian art of the 4th century A.D. (See J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Recherches archéologiques au col de*

Khair Khaneh près de Kābul, Paris 1936; also J. Hackin, *Explorations of the neck of Khair Khaneh near Kābul*, *J.G.I.S.*, Vol. III, No. 1, Jan. 1936). The excavations of J. Hackin on the ancient site of Begram (Kāpiśi of Sanskrit literature) in 1937 resulted in the discovery of a mass of ivories with designs recalling the Mathura art of the Kushan epoch and forming in fact the only surviving samples of Indian ivory-work of that early date. (For a description of the above illustrated with plates, see J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, tome I Text, tome II Plates, Paris 1939). The very interesting excavations of the French archaeologists at Fondukistan, east of Bāmiyān, in 1937, brought to light an old (7th century) Buddhist sanctuary with its appendages. Among the most precious discoveries on this site are a number of clay modellings and mural paintings of predominantly Indian type recalling Gupta and Pala models. (See J. Hackin, *The Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan*, *J.G.I.S.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 & 2, Jan. & July, 1940).

CENTRAL ASIA

In the first seven or eight centuries of the Christian era the Chinese province of Sinkiang (or Eastern Turkestan), now almost wholly a sandy waste, was a land of smiling cities with rich sanctuaries and monasteries stocked with magnificent libraries and works of art. With a population at present predominantly Muslim in religion and Turkish in speech, it was in those days by virtue of its geographical situation the meeting-place of diverse peoples of Iranian, Indian, Turkish, Chinese, Tibetan and other speech and of diverse religions, Buddhist, Manichæan, Nestorian Christian and so forth. The chance finds, during the last decade of the 19th century, of Mss. in Sanskrit, Prakrit and 'unknown languages' together with those of antiquities displaying affinities to the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra, stimulated the zeal of M.A. Stein, already famous as the editor and translator of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. A handsome subsidy of the Government of India enabled him to accomplish (1900-

1901) his much-desired object of an archaeological expedition into Central Asia. The result of this mission so fully justified itself as to allow Stein with the usual subsidies of the Government of India to lead two more archaeological expeditions into the country (1906-1908) and (1913-1916). The other nations were not behind hand in following Stein's example. There ensued a sort of international competition for unveiling the secrets of the lost Asiatic civilisation. A German expedition under the auspices of the Royal Museum of Ethnography in Berlin led by A. Grünwedel and E. Huth visited the sites of Turfan and Kucha (1902-1903). This was followed by the first Royal Prussian expedition (1904-1905) led by A. von Le Coq, a second one (1905-1907) under Grünwedel and Le Coq, and a third one (1913-14) under Le Coq. The German missions synchronised with a series of Russian expeditions of which the second one visited Kucha in 1906, the third discovered the ancient city of Kārākhoto in 1908, while the fourth surveyed Tun-huang in 1914. The Japanese, not to be outdone by other nations, sent two successive missions (1902-04, 1908-09) to visit Turfan, Khotan, Kucha and other sites. The French had also their share in what had become an international enterprise. A mission under Prof. Paul Pelliot visited (1906-09) Kucha, Tun-huang and other sites from which it brought back a rich spoil of Mss. and objects of art. In 1927-28 Emil Trinkler visited a part of Chinese Turkestan, discovering stucco sculptures in Gandhāra style and frescoes similar to those of Miran (See his report in *Sinica*, vol. VI, pp. 34-40). Three successive Russian expeditions led by B. Déniké into Russian Turkestan between the year 1926 and 1928 resulted in the discovery at the site of Terméz of Buddhist antiquities in the usual Gandhāra style (See A. Strelkoff, *Les monuments pre-Islamiques de Terméz* in *Artibus Asiae*, 1928-29). In recent times Renascent China has boldly asserted its claim to the fellowship of the advanced nations of the East and the West by sending its own missions of archaeological exploration to Khotan, Turfan and other sites.

The epoch-making discoveries following from the above expeditions, which can only be compared for their magnitude and interest with those of the lost civilisations of Egypt and Babylonia began to be made known to the world outside in the first decade of the present century. In his *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan*. Stein gave a popular account of his first expedition, while a scientific description of the same was given in his great work *Ancient Khotan* (Vol. I Text, Vol. II Plates, London, 1907). Among the sites described by the daring explorer as yielding the most important Indian antiquities may be mentioned Dandan-oilik, Niya, Endere and Rawak. From these sites were obtained amid the ruins of Buddhist shrines and monasteries tempera paintings and stucco images, Buddhist texts written in Sanskrit, Khotanese and other languages on paper and other materials in varieties of the Gupta script, and wooden documents in the Indian North-West Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī script. These last related to matters of official correspondence, official and semi-official records and so forth. In the meantime Prof. Grünwedel published his valuable report on his archaeological work in the Turfan region and another volume on the old Buddhist cult-places in Chinese Turkestan (*Bericht über archaologisch arbeiten in Idyutschari und Umgebung*, München 1906; *Alt-Buddhistischen Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan*, Berlin 1912). Shortly afterwards Le Coq published his work *Chotscho* (Berlin 1913), describing the Buddhist sculptures and mural paintings of that ancient city. These fruitful labours were cut short by the outbreak of the Great World-War in 1914. But no sooner was that tragic episode over than the work was resumed in right earnest. Stein gave a "Detailed Account" of his second Central Asian expedition (of which a 'Personal Narrative' had already been published under the title *Ruins of Desert Cathay* in 1911) in his stupendous work *Serindia* in three volumes (London, 1921). The chief discoveries of Indian antiquities effected during this expedition were made at Khadalik, Niya, Endere, Lou-lan and Miran, and lastly and above all, Tun-huang on the outskirts

of the Chinese province of Kan-su. From the first five sites were discovered stucco figures and wall-paintings, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Khotanese and other Mss., documents in Kharoṣṭhī script and North-Western Prakrit on wood, paper and silk, wooden sculptures with Indian motifs. At the last-named site Stein had the good fortune of recovering from an ancient walled-up library an immense mass of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, Khotanese and Kuchean along with several thousands of Chinese and Tibetan records dating from the 5th to the 10th centuries A.D. and several hundreds of Buddhist paintings on silk, cotton and paper. As Appendix E to the *Serindia* Raphael Petrucci and Laurence Binyon published a valuable *Essay on Buddhist paintings from the caves of the Thousand Buddhas*. The scientific account of Stein's third expedition was published in his last great work *Innermost Asia* in four volumes (Oxford, 1928). The most interesting finds of Indian antiquities and art-objects were made during this expedition at Niya and Miran, at Kārākhoto and at Murtuk in the Turfan oasis. The objects recovered consisted of Buddhist wall-paintings, Buddhist Mss. and block-prints in a variety of languages, wooden sculptures illustrating Jātaka scenes and containing figures of Buddhist and Brahmanical deities, wooden documents of a secular character in Kharoṣṭhī script and Prakrit language and so forth. In the meantime Prof. Grünwedel produced his monograph on the ruins of Kucha (*Alt-Kutscha*, Berlin 1920). The report of the expedition of the Russian Geographical Society (1907-09) containing a description of the dead city of Karakhoto was published by Kozlov and Filchner, (authorised German translation by L. Breitfuss and P. G. Zeidler, Berlin 1925). Of the official German expeditions a popular account was given by A. von Le Coq in his short work (in German) called *On the trail of Hellas in Eastern Turkestan* (*Auf Hellas Spuren in Ost Turkestan*, Leipzig, 1926; Eng. tr. by Anna Barwell, London, 1929). A general sketch of his discoveries was given by the same scholar in his German work called *A Picture-Atlas relating to the History of Art and Culture in Central Asia* (*Ein*

Bilder-Atlas zur Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte Mittel-Asiens Berlin (1925). The sites mentioned by the author as yielding the most interesting Indian antiquities are Sangim, Bazaklik and Kyzil. At the first-named site was discovered an important collection of Buddhist Mss. The second which was the seat of a great Buddhist monastic establishment with hundreds of temples yielded wall-paintings of Indian monks in yellow robes (with names written in Central Asian Brāhmi) and those of East Asiatic monks in violet robes (with names written in Chinese and Tibetan). The last site yielded sculptures and paintings which were also Indo-Iranian in character besides Mss. in early Indian scripts. A full account of the results obtained by the Japanese expeditions to Central Asia and other lands during the years 1902-04, 1908-09, and 1910-14 under the auspices of Count Kozai Otani has been published (in Japanese) by Y. Uehara, 2 Vols. Tokyo, 1937.

During the last two decades the wonderful records of the lost civilisation of Central Asia, which have been the spoils of the international enterprises above described, have been systematically investigated by a host of scholars. We shall speak first of the objects of art which have been recovered from the various sites. The sculptures, miniatures, wall-paintings and images that were acquired by the Royal Prussian Expeditions have been brilliantly reproduced with adequate short descriptions by Prof. Le Coq in a series of volumes bearing the title *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien* (Berlin, 1922-24). The title *Late Antique* is explained by the fact that the author held the art-objects to be based on a late phase of the ancient Greek art. Of this work it has been rightly said that it ranks among the finest productions of modern German colour-process and photo-lithography. It consists of seven Parts bearing (in English) the titles I The Plastic, II The Manichaean miniatures, III The Wall-paintings, IV The Atlas of wall-paintings, V, VI & VII New Sculptures. To the last part E. Waldschmidt has added an Essay on the style of the wall-paintings from Kyzil, identifying nearly 80 Jātakas and

Avadānas and noticing the mingling of Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic elements in the composition. Of equal interest with the above is the publication of the art-objects recovered from the world-famed "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" at Tun-huang by the Pelliot and Stein expeditions, in a series of magnificent volumes. Prof. Pelliot published in six Parts a portfolio of three hundred and seventy-six Plates illustrating his collection of Buddhist paintings and sculptures from the 182 caves of the monument (P. Pelliot, *Les grottes de Touen Houang; Peintures et sculptures bouddhiques des époques des Wei, des T'ang et des Song*, tomes 1-3, Paris, 1920; tomes 4-5, Paris, 1921; tome 6, Paris, 1924). The paintings on silk and linen banners from the Stein collection were similarly reproduced in the work *The Thousand Buddhas; Ancient Buddhist paintings from the cave-temples of Tun-huang on the Western frontier of China recovered and described by Sir Aurel Stein. Introductory essay by L. Binyon. Descriptive text by A. Stein*, London 1921. A catalogue of five-hundred and fifty-four paintings of the Stein collection (of which two hundred and eighty-two are preserved in the British Museum and the rest in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at Delhi) was published by A. Waley in 1931. It contains, along with general notices of the iconography and styles of the paintings, minute descriptions of the individual pieces. Useful catalogues of the Stein collection of wall-paintings have since been published by F. H. Andrews (Delhi, 1933 and 1935). Of these wall-paintings it may be said that while they were all Buddhistic with a few Manichæan exceptions they are mainly inspired by the late Hellenistic art, their dates ranging from the third to the tenth century. Nevertheless the reproduction of the wall-paintings, which has been undertaken by the Government of India, still awaits publication.

From a general review of the Indian antiquities described by the above authors, it appears that a few of them belong to the Brahmanical culture. Such are the seals with effigies of Kubera and Trimukha discovered by Stein at Niya (abandoned before the end of the 2nd century A.D.) and the

painted Gaṇeśa at Endere. But by far the largest number of paintings and sculptures belongs to the Mahāyānist Buddhist culture. The figures or scenes represented are those of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and lesser divinities, of the Buddhist paradise, of *Maṇḍalas* and they are often accompanied by figures of donors of a particularly individualistic type. Thus in his great work *Serindia* (Chs. xxii-xxiii) Stein divides the paintings from the closed chapel at the *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* into five classes according to subjects. These are (1) Scenes from Buddha's life, (2) Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, (3) Lokapālas and Vajrapāṇis, (4) Divine groups and (5) Buddhist paradise. While the topics of most of the paintings are Buddhistic, they belong to an extra-ordinary variety of styles. At Turfan Grünwedel was able to distinguish no less than five or six different schools of paintings: Gandharian, Indo-Scythian, old Turki, Uigur and Tibetan. The same variety of styles has been noticed by Le Coq in his description of the wall-paintings in the Second Part of his work on *Buddhist Late Antique Art* above mentioned. The paintings from the *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* which illustrate the Buddhist religious art of the T'ang period (618-907 A.D.) and have been described to be for China what Ajanta is for India, have been shown (Cf. Pelliot, *Les Grottes de Touen-houang*) to represent the mingling of Chinese, Graeco-Indian and Iranian elements. To illustrate the cosmopolitan character of the Buddhist art of Central Asia, one further example will suffice. As Stein has shown, the frescoes of the ancient Buddhist sanctuaries at Miran, which are dated about the 4th century A.D., have affinities with the Romano-Syrian and the Copto-Hellenistic art of the early Christian centuries.

From the point of view of Greater Indian research, the chief interest, naturally enough, belongs to the discovery, at various Central Asian sites, of Buddhist and other Indian texts written in Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as in the various local languages current at the time. Written in ink on birch-bark or paper or wood or leather, in Kharoṣṭhī or

several varieties of the Indian Gupta script, these texts (along with others in Chinese and Tibetan) have restored to us, if in fragments, numerous works of Indian literature either in their originals or in translations. In the task of publication of these precious records the pioneer worker was the late A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, who edited in the last decade of the 19th century the celebrated Bower Mss. acquired by L. Bower in 1889 in the course of his journey through Kucha. These Mss. written in Sanskrit on birch-bark in North-West Gupta characters of the 5th century A.D. consisted of a miscellaneous collection of medical treatises, proverbial sayings and the like. Other Mss. of the same type from the Godfrey, Macartney and Weber collections were edited by Hoernle in the closing years of the last century. More important was the publication by the illustrious French scholar E. Senart (*J.A.*, 1898) of the fragment of the Dhammapada in the North-Western Prakrit and in Kharoṣṭhī script, acquired by Dutreuil de Rhins at Khotan in 1893. The rich store of materials acquired by the organised Central Asian expeditions from the early years of the present century has been the occasion for a fresh series of scholarly publications. Selected Sanskrit Buddhist texts from the Stein collection from Tun-huang were edited by Sylvain Lévi (*J.A.*, 1910) and by Vallée Poussin (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, 1912, 1913). In the *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, ed. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Vol. I, Oxford 1916) Hoernle, Lüders, Pargiter and F. W. Thomas published the text and translation (with notes and comparison of parallel versions) of the fragments of no less than 26 Buddhist texts from the Sanskrit canon, of which no less than 21 belong to the Vinaya and the (Hinayāna as well as Mahāyāna) Sūtra Piṭaka, while 2 are *Stotras* of celebrated poet Mātricheṭa, of which I-Tsing in the seventh century wrote, "These charming compositions are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain." The texts are written in paper in 'upright' and 'standing' Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century

and the Mss. were recovered from various Central Asian sites. We may next mention *An Inventory List of Manuscript remains mainly in Sanskrit* by F. E. Pargiter and another *Inventory List of Manuscript remains in Sanskrit, Khotanese and Kuchean* by Sten Konow, which were published as Appendices E. and F. of Stein's *Innermost Asia* already mentioned. Meanwhile H. Lüders started a masterly series of publications of 'Smaller Sanskrit texts' recovered by the Royal Prussian Turfan expeditions. In the first volume of this series called *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen (Kleinere Sanskrit Texte I, Leipzig 1911)* Lüders edited with his usual thoroughness the fragments of three Sanskrit dramas (including the *Śāriputra-prākaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa), written on palmleaf in the script of the Northern Kṣatrapa and Kushan inscriptions, which were found by Le Coq at Ming-Oi and have been since shown to be the oldest specimens of the Sanskrit drama. In the same series Lüders contributed, (Leipzig 1926) his scholarly edition of the fragments of the *Kalpanā-maṇḍitīkā* of Kumāralāta, a collection of pious legends after the fashion of *Jātaka*s and *Avadāna*s written by one of Aśvaghoṣa's junior contemporaries. In recent times E. Waldschmidt has published (in German) in the same series (Leipzig, 1926 and 1932) fragments of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* of the Sarvāstivādins and the first volume of fragments of Buddhist *sūtras* from the Central Asian Sanskrit canon. With this we may mention the edition of the Sanskrit original of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* with Tibetan and Chinese versions by Baron A. von Stäel Holstein (Shanghai, 1926). Among Indian scholars who have taken part in the publication of Central Asian Sanskrit texts we may mention N. P. Chakravarti who has edited and translated a text of the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* from the Pelliot collection (*L' Udānavarga sanskrit, Paris 1930*).

We have now to notice the advance, in the last two decades, of the study and interpretation of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in North-Western Prakrit, which have been found in such large numbers at Khotan and other sites. Unlike

the Sanskrit texts, the Prakrit documents are of a wholly secular character. We learn from them how this Indian language of the North-Western region was used in Khotan and neighbouring areas in the early centuries of the Christian era not only for administration, but also for the business of every-day life. Indeed it has been shown that the Khotan region was ruled in these early days by kings bearing Indian names with the dynastic title *vijita* (See Sten Konow, *Remarks on the Khotanese Jātakastava*, I.H.Q., XVI, 1940). The complete reproduction of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Stein collection is due to the joint labours of several English and French scholars whose work appears under the title *Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Part I. *Text of inscriptions discovered at the Niya site*, 1901, transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart, Oxford, 1920. Part. II. *Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya, Endere and Lou-lan sites*, 1906-7, transcribed and edited (as above). Oxford 1927. Part III. *Text of inscriptions discovered at the Niya and Lou-lan sites*, 1913-14, transcribed and edited by E. J. Rapson and P. S. Noble, Oxford, 1929. In his work *The language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937) T. Burrow has shown how this language corresponds closely to that of the post-Aśokan inscriptions from North-Western India and less closely with the Prakrit version of the Dhammapada. The same scholar has very recently published *A translation of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (London, 1940), giving a translation of all the 740 documents—letters, reports, official orders, judgments etc.—that were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at the Central Asian sites.

Passing to the Indian records preserved in the new Indo-European language of Central Asia which has been one of the leading discoveries of this century, we have to begin by pointing out that it exists in two dialects centering around Karashar and Kucha. These have been respectively called Tokharian A and B from their supposed connection with the ancient Tukhāras. With better reason they have been res-

pectively styled Karasharian and Kuchean from their respective centres. For the publication of texts in these languages we are indebted mainly to French and German scholars. In *J.A.S.B.* 1901 Hoernle published Kuchean fragments of a medical treatise from Central Asia, of which, however, he was unable to offer any interpretation. Later on Sylvain Lévi and A. Meillet edited (*J.A.*, 1911-12) fragments of a fresh Kuchean medical treatise, while Lévi edited (*Manuscript Remains*, Oxford, 1916) the Kuchean *Prātimokṣa* and its historical commentary of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya school. The last-named scholar published his *Notes on Ms. Remains in Kuchean* as Appendix G to Stein's *Innermost Asia*. Above all he edited and translated a series of Buddhist texts, *Udānavarga*, *Udānasūtra*, *Udānālaṃkāra* and *Karmavibhaṅga* (*Fragments de textes Koutchéens*, Paris, 1933). While Kuchean texts have thus been interpreted by Sylvain Lévi from the Stein and other collections, those in the sister dialects from the Grünwedel and Le Coq collections have been studied by the German scholars. To E. Sieg and W. Siegling we owe the publication of Buddhist fragments (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, 1921) and a classical grammar (*Tocharische Grammatik*, 1931) in the Tocharian language. To Prof. Lüders belongs the credit of discovering not only the original name *Agnideśa* of Karashar, but also a list of its kings, Indrārjuna, Chandrārjuna and so forth. Of the two regions Kuchā and Karashar, the first has been shown by Prof. Lévi (*J.A.* 1913; *J.R.A.S.* 1914) to have played by far the more important part in the propagation of Buddhism into China. Reference may be made in this connection to the famous Kumārajīva of Kuchā, one of the greatest apostles of Chinese Buddhism. As Lévi has shown (*op. cit.*), the existing records prove that the civilisation of Kuchā was wholly Indian and Buddhist. Sanskrit evidently was the sacred language. The Kātantra grammar was studied and, as is shown by the surviving parallel versions of Sanskrit and Kuchean texts, *verbatim* translations were made from the Sanskrit. The surviving Kuchean literature consists of frag-

ments of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin school, of imitations of Sanskrit Avadānas, of Mahāyāna and Buddhist Tāntrik texts, and lastly, of works of half-dramatic, half-narrative type with Buddha and mythical kings as heroes and the inevitable *Vidūṣaka* as their attendant.

Besides the records preserved in the Indo-European language just noticed, Central Asia has yielded other texts written in Soghdian and Khotanese (otherwise called Śaka or North-Aryan), two hitherto unknown languages belonging to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. During the last two decades the Buddhist texts in Soghdian have been published mainly by French and German scholars, such as P. Pelliot, E. Benveniste, Fr. Weller and F. W. K. Müller. To the German scholar Hans Reichelt, we owe the publication of the fragments of Buddhist texts belonging to the British Museum collection of Soghdian Mss. (*Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums, I Teil, Die Buddhistischen Texte*, Heidelberg 1928). The *Notes on Manuscript Remains in Soghdian* by E. Benveniste and the *Inventory List of Ms. fragments in Uighur, Mongol and Soghdian* by A. von Le Coq were published as Appendices H and K in Stein's great work *Innermost Asia* above mentioned. Mention may be made in the present place of the classical work on Soghdian grammar (*Essai de grammaire Sogdienne*) published in two parts, Part I by R. Gauthiot (Paris 1921) and Part II by E. Benveniste (Paris 1929). As for the Khotanese texts, Sten Konow published (*Manuscript Remains*, Oxford 1916) two complete Khotanese Mss. of the Vajracchedikā and the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra* from the Stein collection with English translation, corresponding Sanskrit (or Sanskrit and Tibetan) versions and a vocabulary. The *Śaka studies* by Konow (Oslo, 1932) contained his edition of the fragments of the Middle-Iranian version of the Saṃghāṭa-sūtra with a grammatical sketch and vocabulary of the language. More recently Konow has edited (*S.P.A.W.*, 1935, pp. 772-823) some texts from the Maralbashi site written in a cognate dialect, which are dated by the regnal year of a king bearing the Indian

name of Vasudeva. A complete poem in Khotanese Śaka, the *Jātakastava of Jñānāśraya*, has since been reproduced (*B.S.O.S.*, IX, 4) from the Stein collection of Tun-huang Mss. by H. W. Bailey. This interesting work is a collection of verses in praise of Buddha's deeds in previous births and is of the same nature as the Chariyāpiṭaka of the Pāli canon. It is dedicated by its author to a king bearing the Indian name of Śrī Vijaya Śūra.

Coming to the Central Asian records written in the ancient Turki languages, we have to notice the important work done in the publication of Buddhist texts by German scholars. To F. W. K. Müller we owe the publication of a few Buddhist Uigur Mss. including fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* and of Tāntric texts from the Turfan finds (*A.B.A.*, 1908, 1911; *S.B.A.*, 1916; *S.P.A.W.*, 1928, 1931 etc.). In a series of papers called *Türkische Turfan-Texte* W. Bang and A. von Gabain have published another series of Buddhist (including Tāntric) Turkish texts from Turfan (*S.P.A.W.*, 1930, 1931, 1934 etc.). Some Avadāna stories from the Turkish Manuscript fragments were translated by F. W. K. Müller in the series *Uigurica* (*S.P.A.W.*, 1931 etc.).

We come now to the Indian documents written in the little-known Tangut (Si-hia) language, that have been recovered principally from the forgotten city of Karakhoto by the Russian expedition under Kozloff and the third Stein expedition as well as later Chinese missions. Here the important work has been done by French and Russian as well as Chinese and Japanese scholars. In *J.A.* 1914 and 1920 P. Pelliot published a few Buddhist texts from the Kozloff collection preserved in the Asiatic Museum at Leningrad. In the *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping* (vol. IV, No. 3, May-June 1930) a valuable collection of Buddhist texts in the same language together with a catalogue of the Si-hia translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka was published by a group of Chinese, Japanese and Russian scholars.

Of Indian literary works from the Central Asian finds

which are preserved in Tibetan, it will be enough to mention one or two examples. In *Indian Studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (Harvard University Press, 1929) F. W. Thomas has published a paper on the Tibetan version of the Rāmāyaṇa (dated 700-900 A.D.). "It follows the general lines of the narrative in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vana-parvan*, Chs. 270-290), but the incidents and the nomenclature differ widely and indeed surprisingly." In *Tibetan Literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part II (Royal Asiatic Society, London F. W. Thomas has translated the Tibetan documents of the Stein collection.

We have to notice, in the last place, the Chinese Buddhist documents recovered from Tun-huang and other sites by the several national expeditions. In the publication and interpretation of such texts very valuable work has recently been done by Japanese scholars. Of the great *Taisho edition* of the Chinese *Tripitaka*, published by J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe in 55 vols. (Tokyo 1924-29), Vols. 53 and 54 contained Mss. belonging to some of the important Central Asian collections. The valuable *Catalogue* of this monumental work (Tokyo, 1929) gave a complete list of Chinese Buddhist Mss. from Tun-huang known till then. In the concluding volume (Vol. 85) of the *Complement to the Taisho edition* in 30 volumes (Tokyo, 1929-32) have been published the Tun-huang Mss. preserved in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Japanese collections. In 1933, K. Yabuki published a masterly commentary on the Tun-huang Mss. of the Stein collection, which had been already edited by him in 1931. The Chinese Buddhist texts from Tun-huang have also been examined by the Chinese scholars Lieuo Fou, Tch'en Yin-ko and Tch'en Yuan in the publications of the *Academia Sinica* (Peiping, 1930, 1931).

TIBET

Tibet, 'the land of snow', derives its religion of Lamaism and its Lamaist church organisation, its religious art and its

literature, from Indian inspiration, if not from direct Indian authorship. To trace the recent progress of Tibetan studies in relation to Indian culture, we may properly begin with reference to the two grand divisions (Kanjur and Tanjur) of its huge canonical literature which is based on Indian originals. These two grand divisions were long known in the two editions called Peking ('red') and Narthāng ('black'). Afterwards there was discovered a new and better edition of the same from Sde-dge in Eastern Tibet. Besides Baron A. von Stäel-Holstein brought to light (Peking 1934) a new Peking edition of the Kanjur published in 1692, as compared with the other Chinese editions dated in 1410 and 1700. Another feature of recent times has been the preparation of new catalogues of the Tibetan canon which have wholly or partially superseded the older catalogues of the Kanjur by Csoma de Körös and I. J. Schmidt and of the Tanjur by Beckh. It is noticeable that in this work, as in that of cataloguing the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the lead has been taken by the Japanese scholars. The Tohoku Imperial University published in 1934 *A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons (Bṛāh-hgyur and Bṣtan-hgyur)* containing an index of 103 volumes of the Kanjur and 205 volumes of the Tanjur in the Sde-dge edition. More important than the above is the work *A complete analytical catalogue of the Kānjur division of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka edited in Peking during the K'ang-shi era* issued by the Otani University in three parts (1930, 1931, 1932). In this work each Sūtra is compared with its corresponding text in the Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese canons.

In recent times Tibetan Buddhist texts often accompanied with the available parallel versions have been published by a number of Russian, German, French, Italian, Japanese and Indian scholars. Among important volumes of Indian literature thus made available to the learned world we may mention valuable works on Logic like Dignāga's *Nyāya-mukṣha* (ed. Tucci, 1930) and *Ālambanaparīkṣā* (ed. Yamaguchi, J.A. 1929), Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Nyāyapraveśa* (ed. V. Bhattacharyya, G.O.S. XXXIX, Baroda 1927), Dharmakīrti's

Pramāṇavārttika (ed. Rahula Sankrityayana, *J.B.O.R.S.* (1938-39); philosophical works like Nāgārjuna's own commentary (*Akūṭobhaya*) on his *Madhyamīkākārikās* (tr. Max Walleser, Heidelberg, 1911) the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* of Maitreya-nātha (ed. Stcherbatsky and Obermiller, *Bib. Buddh.* XXIII 1929) and its commentary by Haribhadra (ed. Tucci, G.O.S. LXII, and Wogihara, Tokyo 1932), Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasamgraha* (ed. E. Lamotte, Louvain, 1939), Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmaśāstra* (ed. in part by Vallée Poussin and Stcherbatsky); poetical works like Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka* (ed. in part, V. Bhattacharyya, Viśvabhāratī Series no. 2, Calcutta 1931). Reference may also be made to the publication by J. Bacot (Paris, 1930) of a great Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary containing nearly 15,000 more words than the well-known *Mahāvūyutpatti*. A fundamental treatise on Tāntrism in the Far East which exists in seven Chinese and three Tibetan versions as well as a half-Sanskrit and half East-Iranian version has been thoroughly analysed by the Japanese scholar S. Toganoo in 1930. The title of this work has been restored in Sanskrit as *Nayasūtra*. The important *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston, throwing much valuable light upon Indian Buddhism and Buddhist literature, has been translated from the Tibetan with a learned Introduction and Notes by E. Obermiller (Heidelberg, Part I, 1931, Part, II, 1932).

Coming to religion and religious art, we have to mention in the first place the publications of useful catalogues of Tibetan collections in different museums of Europe and Asia. Such are the Catalogue (in French) of the Indian and Tibetan sculptures in the Musée Guimet by J. Hackin (Paris, 1931) and the catalogue of the Tibetan collection in the Louis Finot Museum by C. Pascalis (Hanoi, 1935). The enormous influence exercised by the Pala and Sena art of Bengal and Magadha upon the sculpture and painting of Tibet has been stressed by René Grousset (*Les Civilisations de l'Orient*, tome IV, ch. 2, Paris, 1930). A first-rate contribution to our knowledge of the tangled mythology of Tibet is the work *Two Lamaist pantheons from the*

materials collected by the late Baron A. von Stäel-Holstein in two volumes (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass). Of outstanding importance is the work *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (London, 1929) by Alice Getty. Mention may also be made of Sir Charles Bell's publication *The Religion of Tibet* (Oxford, 1931).

No one has done more in recent times to advance our knowledge of Tibetan art and archaeology than the indefatigable Italian explorer and scholar Giuseppe Tucci, who has repeatedly visited the shrines and monasteries of Western and Eastern Tibet, collecting Mss. and objects of art and bringing to light unknown paintings and sculptures from its secluded cloisters. His penetrating studies have been published (in Italian) in successive volumes in the series *Indo-Tibetica*, under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Italy. In the first volume of this series (Rome, 1932) Tucci deals with the construction of the characteristic types of *stūpas* (*mc'od rten*) in Indian and Western Tibet. The author gives reasons for thinking that the Tibetan architectural processes relating to the construction of *stūpas* were entirely derived from India. It is interesting to learn that among the objects (*ts'a ts'a*) deposited in the *stūpas* there are not only figures of Buddhist deities and sacred objects, but also of the god Kārttikeya. In the second volume of the *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome, 1933) Tucci gives the biography of a great Tibetan scholar, reformer and builder (Rin c'en Bzan po) who introduced a Buddhist renaissance into Tibet c. 1000 A.D. This great Tibetan monk, who refreshed his knowledge of Buddhism from three successive visits to India, wrote after his return no less than 158 works which Tucci classifies under the three heads of *Sūtras and Tantras*, *Commentaries on the Sūtras*, and *Commentaries on the Tantras*. He was helped by a band of no less than seventy-five Indian scholars whom his royal patrons, the kings of Güge (Western Tibet), invited to their court. He also invited artists from Nepal, Bengal and Kashmir to build scores of temples and adorn them with sculptures and paintings. The chief temple was provided with images not only of

Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, but also of Tāntrik deities associated with the Guhyasamāja cycle. In the third volume of the *Indo-Tibetica* (Part I, Rome 1935; Part II, Rome 1936) Tucci describes a number of temples of Western Tibet with their sculptures and paintings specially from the point of view of their artistic symbolism. The chronicle of this mission written (in Italian) by Tucci's companion E. Ghersi was published separately by the Royal Academy of Italy in 1933. From the standpoint of Indian culture the interest of Tucci's description lies in its reference to the esoteric significance of the *maṇḍala* or Tāntrik cycle adopted in the Tibetan temples. Mention may also be made of Tucci's discovery of some Buddhist frescoes (of the 10th or 11th century) in West Tibetan shrines, recalling the paintings of Ajanta and Ellora (G. Tucci, *Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples, Artibus Asiae* VII, 1937). Among Tucci's recent discoveries may be mentioned that of the Mangrang monastery in Eastern Tibet with frescoes probably executed by Indian artists in the 12th century and wood-work done by Kashmirian craftsmen in the same period (see *Illustrated London News*, Jan. 18, 1936).

We may notice, in the last place, the fruitful travels (specially those of 1934 and 1936) of an Indian Buddhist monk, Rahula Sankrityayana, which have been rewarded with discoveries of Sanskrit palm-leaf Mss. in the hidden monastic libraries of Tibet. In *J.B.O.R.S.* XXI (1935) and XXIII (1937) he has listed a series of 184 and 326 separate Mss. which he discovered in the various Tibetan libraries.

MONGOLIA AND MANCHURIA

For the investigation of Mongolian Buddhist literature we are chiefly indebted in recent times to Russian, German and Japanese scholars. The West Mongol (Kalmuk) version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* (one of the favourite scriptures of Northern Buddhism) has been published by Erich Haenisch (*Asia Major*, VIII, Leipzig). The Uigur text of the same *Sūtra* was edited (*Bib. Buddh.* XVII, 1913) by W. W. Radloff and S. E. Malov and was translated into

German (*Bib. Buddh.* XXVII, Leningrad 1930) by the same scholars. In 1924 Russian scholars discovered a copy of the Mongol Tanjur at Urga. Another copy was discovered in 1929 by the Japanese Prof. Haneda who took it to the Imperial University of Kyoto. The former copy was utilised by B. Y. Vladimircov in his edition of the Mongolian version of Śāntideva's Bodhicharyāvatāra (*Bib. Buddh.* XXVIII, Leningrad, 1929).

Coming to Manchuria we have to mention the discovery by the German scholar Walter Fuchs (*O.L.Z.*, 33, 1930) of two copies of the Manchurian Kanjur in a monastery at Potala in Johol and its neighbouring temple.

BURMA

By the ninth century of the Christian era Burma with its two great natural (Upper and Lower) divisions, bearing in the ancient indigenous records the names of Mrammadesa and Rāmaññadesa, was occupied by at least three distinct peoples all of whom were strongly influenced by Indian civilisation. In the north lay the Burmese kingdom (Mrammamaṇḍala) with its capital at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) found in 849 A.D. In the south was situated the kingdom of the Pyu with its capital at Śrīkṣetra (Old Prome identified with the modern village of Hmawza near Prome). To the south-east lay the kingdom of the Mons (or Talaiings), kinsmen (at least by speech) of the Khasis and Mundas of India, whose capital was located at Thaton and who had an important settlement at Hamsāvati (Pegu) founded early in the ninth century. It is only by piecing together the evidence of the archæological finds and stray Chinese literary references that the lost history of Burma in early times has been recently recovered, for notwithstanding the abundance of local chronicles the authentic history of the country dates only from 1057 A.D., the memorable year of the conquest of Thaton and Pegu by the Burmese king Anawrata.

The systematic investigation of the art and archaeology of Burma begins only in the first decade of the present

century, although the Archaeological Department was established in 1899 and a serious search for antiquities had been made by Major (afterwards Sir) Richard Temple in 1894. The explorations of a French archaeologist, General L. de Beylié, in 1905 and the following years for the first time drew public attention to the wealth of antiquities at Prome. The first Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, Taw Sein Ko, devoted his energies to the description of some of the famous monuments of the 11th and 12th centuries at Pagan including the Ānanda temple built by King Kyanzittha in 1090 (according to tradition) and the Mahābodhi temple built after the model of the Bodhgayā shrine by King Nandaungmya in 1198 A.D. He had, moreover, the good fortune of discovering at Hmawza funeral urns in earthenware and stone with inscriptions in the forgotten Pyu language, a stone inscription with extracts from the Pāli canon and a Buddhist votive *stūpa* with images of the last four Buddhas and inscriptions in Pyu and Pāli languages. These inscriptions were published by C. O. Blagden (*Ep. Ind.* XII) and Louis Finot (*J.A.* 1912). To Taw Sein Ko also belongs the credit of publishing six volumes of a Corpus of Burmese inscriptions. These are I *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, ed. T. S. Ko, 1892; II *Inscriptions copied from stones collected by King Bodawpaya*, Vol. I, ed. T.S. Ko, 1897, III *Inscriptions copied from stones collected by King Bodawpaya*, Vol. II, ed. T.S. Ko, 1897, IV *Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma*, Vol. I, ed. T.S. Ko, 1900, V *Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma*, Vol. II ed. T.S.Ko, 1903, VI *Original inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya*ed. Charles Duroiselle after copy prepared by T.S. Ko, 1913. Containing mere transcriptions in modern Burmese characters and neglecting the distinction between originals and copies, these volumes have been rightly condemned for their failure to satisfy the requirements of modern scholarship. During the first decade of this century Blagden published the first tentative reading of a Mon inscription (*J.R.A.S.* 1909). This is the famous text on the Mon (or Talaing) face of the quadrilingual epigraph of Myazedi,

"the Rosetta stone of Talaing epigraphy." In *J.R.A.S.* 1911 the same scholar compared the Pyu version of the above record with the Pāli, Burmese and Mon versions. Afterwards he deciphered (*Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 1917) some of the Pyu inscriptions on the funeral urns discovered at Hmawza. Nevertheless it could justly be said by a competent scholar as late as 1913 that epigraphy in Burma was still to be founded (Charles Duroiselle, Preface to his edition of the *Original inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya*, Amarapura, 1913). With the closing years of the second decade of the present century began a period of substantial progress. In the first volume (1919) of the newly started *Journal Epigraphia Birmanica*, Blagden published his improved reading of the Mon version of the Myazedi inscription along with a glossary of Mon words and the text and translation of the Pyu version of the same record. A series of Mon inscriptions (including the Mon versions of the famous Kalyaṇī-sīmā inscription of King Dhammacheti of Pegu), was edited by the same scholar in the following volumes (vols. II-IV) of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*. The soul of this recent progress in Burmese archaeology was Charles Duroiselle, who became the first editor of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* in 1911 and who succeeded Taw Sein Ko as Archaeological Superintendent in 1912. He published (Rangoon, 1921) *A List of inscriptions found in Burma, Part I. The list of the inscriptions arranged in the order of their dates* with three Appendices listing Mon, Pyu, Siamese and Tamil inscriptions. Three *Portfolios of Inscriptions of Burma* (University of Burma Oriental Series Publications) consisting of accurate facsimiles of inscriptions from 1131 to 1237 A.D., those down to 1268 A.D. and those from 1268 to 1300 A.D., have since been published by Pe Maung Tin and G. Luce (Oxford 1933 and London 1939). The very valuable excavations of Duroiselle on the site of Hmawza in 1926-27 resulted in the discovery of an untouched relic-chamber of a Buddhist *stūpa* of the 6th-7th century A.D. containing "a veritable wonder-house of archaeological treasures." The central object in the

chamber was a gilt silver *stūpa* with Buddha figures in *repoussé* and a mixed Pāli-Pyu inscription. Among other objects was a Ms. of 20 gold-leaves in Pyu characters of the 6th century containing extracts from the Pāli canon. The characters of the inscription and the Ms. (like those of the gold-plate and the stone inscription at Hmawza discovered by Taw Sein Ko) bear affinities to those of the Kannada-Telugu and Kadamba inscriptions of Southern India at the same period. Other discoveries made at the same site consisted of terracotta votive tablets with figures of a Buddha flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, a Bodhi-sattva with four arms and so forth and with the Buddhist creed inscribed in Pāli or Sanskrit in Nāgarī characters of the 8th-9th centuries. Duroiselle's discoveries at Hmawza in the following year consisted of a gold-plate inscription in Pāli in the same South Indian characters, of a bronze Buddha image with Sanskrit inscriptions in Gupta characters on the pedestal, of a large stone image of the Buddha with a mixed Sanskrit and Pyu inscription in Gupta characters of the 7th-8th centuries [For details, see *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1926-7, 1927-28]. These discoveries have opened a new chapter in the history of India's old culture-contact with Burma. They have definitely proved that in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era an Indian (or India-nised) dynasty with names of kings ending in *varman* and *vikrama* was reigning at Prome. During the same period Theravāda (or "Southern") Buddhism was the predominant religion in the kingdom, and the Pāli canon was known in its most abstruse aspects. The art-influence was derived both from the Northern Gupta tradition and the Southern Pallava style. The colonists came both from Northern and Southern India.

Next in importance to the archaeological discoveries at Hmawza are those made by Duroiselle at Pagan, the capital city of the Burmese kings, which during a space of nearly two centuries (1057-1286) was adorned by a succession of royal builders with innumerable *stūpas*, shrines and monasteries. On this memorable site Duroiselle brought to

light hundreds of stone sculptures and terracotta votive tablets inscribed with the usual Buddhist creed in a variety of languages (Sanskrit, Pāli, Pyu, Talaing and Burmese). Some of these inscribed tablets written in Sanskrit in Nāgarī characters of the 11th century bear the name of the great Burmese King Anawrata, the conqueror of Thaton, in the Indian form Mahārāja Śrī Anuruddhadeva (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915, 1926-27).

One of the important signs of the remarkable progress of Burmese archaeology in recent times has been the steady growth of museums. Not to speak of the Palace Museum at Mandalay containing the relics of the last Burmese dynasty, the museums at Hmawza and Pagan have been greatly enriched with the finds of the recent explorations.

The dark corners of the religious history of the Irrawady valley in the pre-Anawrata period have been illumined in recent times by the progress of research. In the middle of the second decade of this century because of the dearth of authentic documents it could still be said (Duroiselle in *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16) that the religious history of Burma up to the eleventh century was practically a blank. A great step forward was taken when Duroiselle identified the unique frescoes of a markedly erotic character from two old temples near Pagan as representing the Ari of the Burmese chronicles, whom he identified as a Mahāyānist Buddhist sect deeply tinctured with Tantrism and deriving its origin from Bengal (See Duroiselle's classical paper 'The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism in *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16). This definitely proved the prevalence of Tantrik Buddhism among the Burmese before the absorption of Theravāda Buddhism by King Anawrata. To Duroiselle also belongs the credit of recognising traces of the Sāṅkṛit (Sārvāstivādin) school in the Sanskrit records from Prome (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14). In the last decade of this century an Indian scholar. Nihar-Ranjan Ray has contributed a series of valuable studies on the religious history of Burma. In his *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (Calcutta 1932) based on a critical study of the extant Brahmanical images

and shrines in the country, he has brought together all the known facts about the remains of Brahmanism in Burma arranged in chronological order from the 7th to the 14th centuries A.D. His next important work *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Calcutta, 1935), based on an equally thorough study of plastic remains and literary references, gives a comprehensive account of the fortunes of the Sarvāstivādin as well as the Mahāyāna and allied schools of Buddhism in the country from the earliest times. Among his main conclusions may be mentioned the fact that the Mūlasarvāstivādin canon was introduced into old Prome probably from East India some time before the seventh century A.D. Down to the eighth and ninth centuries it flourished there side by side with the Theravāda school which had been introduced evidently from the Kannaḍa-Telugu country in the sixth century. In the eighth and ninth centuries Mahāyānism was introduced into Old Prome from East India. In Pagan it was known before the tenth century, having been probably introduced from Bengal at least in its Tantric form. Its most flourishing period coincided with the Golden Age of the Hinayānist reformation at Pagan. Owing to the enlightened tolerance of the Burmese kings the two religions lived side by side, but Hinayānism having the State support ultimately triumphed over its rival.

We may next mention two other publications by the last-named scholar, (*Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma*, *J.G.I.S.*, VI, Jan. & July, 1939; *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, *Ibid.*, VIII, Jan. 1941) forming the earlier chapters of a comprehensive History of Buddhism in Burma projected by himself. In the first paper the author has established by an elaborate examination of the literary and archæological evidence that the famous tradition of Aśoka's sending (c. 250 B.C.) the mission of Soṇa and Uttara for the conversion of Suvaṇṇabhūmi has some claims to a historical basis, that the equally famous tradition of Buddhaghoṣa's infusing a new life into the Buddhism of Lower Burma (c. 400-450 A.D.) has some probability in its favour, that the Pāli canonical texts evidently brought over by Indian colonists from

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the Kannaḍa-Telugu country were studied in their doctrinal and abstruse aspects in Old Prome (c. 400-450 A.D.) and that Buddhism was in a very flourishing condition in that capital city (c. 550-950 A.D.), that Brahmanical Hinduism along with Buddhism was prevalent in Pegu, and lastly that Theravāda Buddhism was exceedingly flourishing in the Talaing kingdom towards the middle of the eleventh century. In the second paper a good account has been given of the religious, artistic and literary activities of the Burmese people during the Golden Age of the Pagan dynasty (c. 1057-1286 A.D.). How ennobling was the Buddhist influence on the minds of these alien rulers has been illustrated by the following quotation from an inscription of King Kyanzittha, the builder of the Ānanda temple :—
 “With loving kindness.....shall King Kvanzittha wipe away the tears of those who are parted from their trusted friendshis people shall be unto him as a child to its mother’s bosom.....he shall soften the hearts of those who intend evil. With wisdom, which is even as the hand, shall King Kyanzittha draw open the bar of the Gate of Heaven, which is made of gold and wrought with gems.”

The study of Burmese art, for which materials were almost completely lacking as late as the middle of the second decade of this century (Cf. Duroiselle in *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14), has also shared in the general progress. It is true that a comprehensive history of this art involving the classification of types and schools and the analysis of their affinities down even to the end of the Pagan period has yet to be written. Nevertheless there has latterly been a good deal of preliminary studies in this direction. In his paper ‘*Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma*’ (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1912-13) Duroiselle gave a connected account of the sculptures and paintings illustrative of the Jātakas in Burmese temples from 1057 to 1820. Dealing with the style of these works of art, he declared that while the main influence came from Eastern India, the local artists in copying the Indian models created a Pagan school. In the same context he stated that everything in the Jātika reliefs except

the style of the houses was Indian. The stone sculptures illustrative of Buddha's life from the corridor of the famous Ānanda temple at Pagan were noticed by Duroiselle in another paper (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14) where he held them to be the work of Indian artists. In a third paper on the frescoes of Pagan (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1921-22), he declared these paintings with some looseness of expression to be the work of Bengali and Nepalese artists of the Varendra school. The illustrious French scholar G. Coëdès has recently suggested (*Le Musée National de Bangkok*, Paris 1928, p. 31) that the type of Buddha images of the early Pagan period in Burma and the early Tai period in Siam was directly derived from the Pala art of Bengal and Behar, a suggestion which has been confirmed by later research (Le May, *Buddhist Art in Siam* pp. 99ff.). Quite recently Indian scholars have made weighty contributions to the study of religious art in Burma. Nihar-Ranjan Ray, in his papers on Burmese religious history above-mentioned, has distinguished various Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures at Hmawza and Pagan as belonging to the late Gupta, Pallava or Pala styles. He has also pointed out that not only the *stūpas* but also the rectangular temples at Hmawza are indebted to the late Gupta and Pala art traditions. In his paper 'Paintings in Pagan' (*J.I.S.O.A.*, VI, 1938) the same scholar has distinguished four stages of this art. At first the conception was mainly plastic, the decorations, dress and ornaments, types, colour-scheme and composition being imported from the East Indian tradition. When the process of Burmanisation began to work, the plastic conception was overtaken by the linear. In the third stage the linear conception superseded the plastic, the colour scheme etc. remaining purely Indian. In the fourth or Burmese stage the linear conception came to stay. More recently Sarasi Kumar Saraswati (*Temples of Pagan*, *J.G.I.S.*, IX, I, Jan. 1942) has shown that these temples divide themselves into three classes having their prototype in certain old shrines of Hmawza and that the Ānanda temple, in particular, while resembling the Paharpur shrine in exterior

elevation, differs fundamentally in plan, conception and internal arrangement.

By the first decade of the present century the investigation of the literary history of Burma had made substantial progress. Important chronicles for which Burma is so famous like the Gandhavaṃsa and the Sāsanavaṃsa had been published before the close of the last century. These and other precious texts were utilised by Mabel Bode in her standard monograph *The Pāli Literature of Burma* (London 1909), where she traced the development of Pāli literature and Pāli scholarship in Burma from the 11th to the 19th centuries. Among the branches of study developed during this period are those quite familiar to students of Sanskrit literature viz. astronomy and astrology, law, medicine, rhetoric and prosody, and above all, grammar.

The progress of scholarship in recent years has made possible the publication of an up-to-date general history of Burma superseding the earlier work of Sir Arthur Phayre. This is the *History of Burma from the earliest times to the 10th March 1824, the beginning of the English conquest* by G. E. Harvey (London, 1925). The author, while treating the early history of Burma in a very summary fashion, has sought to utilise all available materials including the highly valuable indigenous chronicles which, as he says, are without a parallel in the mainland of Indo-China.

SIAM

Siam, or as it is now called, Thailand, was ruled before the complete establishment of T'ai sovereignty in the thirteenth century by peoples of diverse stocks, the Mons in Central and Northern Siam, the Khmers in North-East Siam and the Śrīvijaya kings in the Peninsula. In a country so diversified it was no wonder that there arose different schools and styles of art, but all of these were directly or indirectly saturated with Indian influences.

The beginnings of the State organisation of archaeological research go back in Siam only to the third decade of this century, though the Vajirañāna National Library (so called

after the name of the then reigning king before his accession) had been established at Bangkok as far back as 1905. It was in 1924 that King Rama VI founded the Archaeological Service. His successor King Prajadhipok established at Bangkok in 1926 the Royal Institute (*Rājapāṇḍityasabhā*) of Literature, Archaeology and Fine Arts. In the same year he formed the National Museum at Bangkok out of the collections of King Mongkut, King Chulalongkorn and Prince Damrong Mahānubhava. Other museums were started before or after this time at Lopburi, Ayudhya and other places.

To no single scholar is Siamese art as well as archaeology more indebted than to the illustrious French savant George Coedès. Appointed Librarian of the Vajirañāna National Library in 1917 and thereafter called to the office of General Secretary of the newly founded Royal Institute of Siam, he enriched almost every branch of Siamese antiquities by his illuminating researches extending over many years. His preliminary studies of the documents bearing on the Sukhodaya dynasty (*Documents sur le Dynastie de Sukhodaya*, B.E.F.E.O., XVII, 1917) were followed by a more intensive investigation of the beginnings of the dynasty (*Les origines de le Dynastie de Sukhodaya*, J.A., 1920). Of the greatest value as a source-book of the history of Siam was his publication of the text and translation of the inscriptions extending from the Indo-Mon Kingdom of Dvāravati down to the Tai kingdom of Sukhodaya (or *Suk'ōt'ai*). This work bearing the title *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam* was published in two parts, Part I (Bangkok 1924) dealing with the inscriptions (Pāli and Thai), of the Sukhodaya kingdom (13th-16th centuries), and Part II (Bangkok 1929) dealing with the inscriptions (Pāli and Mon) of the Dvāravati kingdom (7th-8th centuries), the inscriptions (Sanskrit and Khmer) of the Śrīvijaya kingdom (8th-12th centuries), the inscriptions (Pāli and Mon) of the Haripuñjaya kingdom (12th-13th centuries). It contained, among other things, a masterly summary of the archaeological evidence relating to the early history of Siam. Of equally fun-

damental importance was Çœdés's publication (with a French translation and a learned Introduction) of two Pāli chronicles from the Mss. collection of the National Library of Bangkok *Documents sur l'Histoire Politique et Religieuse du Laos Occidental*, (B.E.F.E.O., XXV, 1925). These works are the *Jinakālamālīnī* ("Garland of the times of the Buddha") of the monk Ratnapaṇṇa (dated about the beginning of the 15th century) and the *Chāmadevīvaṃsa* ("Chronicles of Chāma Devī) of the monk Bodhiraśmi (written in 1516 A.D.) and they rank as first-rate authorities for the history of Yonakaraṭṭha (Western or Siamese Laos) from the beginning down to their own times. To the above-mentioned work Çœdés has added a number of valuable Appendices including *A list of chronicles and other documents relating to the history of Simese Laos preserved in the National Library at Bangkok*, *A List of inscriptions found in the two provinces of Siamese Laos, the text and translation of the Mon Inscriptions of Lopburi and Lampun* and so forth.

The study of art and architecture in Siam has equally benefited by the scholarly activities of Çœdés. In *J.S.S.*, XXI, (1928) he identified certain bronze Buddha images excavated from the ancient site of Pong Tuk in the previous year as belonging to the Amarāvati (2nd century) and Gupta (6th century) styles. In his important work (in French) called *The archaeological collections of the National Museum at Bangkok* (*Ars Asiatica*, XII, 1928) containing 40 Plates illustrating the art of Siam, he distinguished four schools classified under the heads 'Art of Dvāravati', 'Art of Śrīvijaya', 'Art of Lopburi, and the Tai (or Siamese) Art subdivided into the schools of Xiensen, Sukhodaya, Utong and Ayudhya. Explaining the characteristics of these schools he pointed out that the art of Dvāravati (Central Siam) was based on Gupta models and was the intermediary through which Indian art influenced the 'primitive' or 'pre-Khmer' art of Cambodia. He also held that the school of Lopburi represented a provincial Khmer art, while the school of Xiensen was derived from Pala art by way of Burma. In this connection he did a distinct service by discarding the title

'Græco-Khmer' applied by some scholars to the art of Dvāravati. At a later date Coedès identified (*Études d' Orientalisme Linossier*, pp. 159-164) certain sculptures from the ancient city of Srideb as forming the link between Gupta and early Khmer art.

While the main credit for investigating the art and archaeology of Siam belongs to Coedès, other scholars have made important contributions to their study during the last twenty years. To the Siamese scholar-prince Damrong we owe *A History of Siam prior to the Ayudhya period*, which was translated into English in J.S.S. XIII, (Bangkok 1920). In this work new light was sought to be thrown upon the history of the Early Tai kingdoms. Prince Damrong also wrote in Siamese *A History of Buddhist Stūpas in Siam* (Bangkok 1926), while he published in the *Jubilee volume of the Siam Society* (Bangkok 1930) a paper on the *Evolution of Siamese Art* illustrated with forty Plates. About this time A. Salmony produced his work *The Sculpture of Siam* (London, 1925; French ed., Paris 1925) which, written from an æsthetic standpoint, has been rightly condemned (cf. Finot and Goloubev's criticism in *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1927) for its grievous errors of history and chronology. In *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI (1931), J. Y. Claeys published an important paper (in French) called *The archaeology of Siam* where he described a large number of monuments with critical remarks on the history and chronology, architecture and sculpture, of Siam. The art of Siam has also been discussed by Pierre Dupont in his paper *The Art of Dvāravati and Khmer Art* (*R.A.A.*, 1935) where he points out that the standing Buddha images of the Bayon period represent the survival of the Dvāravati art of Siam and Laos. Coming to epigraphy, we may mention the publication with translation and notes by R. Halliday of a list of seven Mon inscriptions of Siam (*B.E.F.E.O.* XXX, 1930). In this connection reference may be made to E. Seidenfaden's paper (in French) called *Complement to the Inventory of the monuments of Cambodia from the four provinces of East Siam* (*B.E.F.E.O.* XXIII 1923) supplementing Lunet de Lajon-

quière's *Descriptive Inventory of the monuments of Cambodia* (1902-12) to be described below.

Another scholar who has enriched the art and archaeology of Siam in recent times is Reginald Le May, for some time Economic Adviser to the Siamese Government. In his work *The Coinage of Siam* (Bangkok, 1932), while describing the coin-types of the Ayudhya and other dynasties, he pointed out that the Tai were the first people in the Far East to introduce a standardised silver currency. The ceramic art of Siam which is indebted to the famous Sung pottery of China, was studied by him in his paper '*The Ceramic wares of North-Central Siam* (*Burlington Magazine*, London 1933). In his *Buddhist Art in Siam* (Cambridge, 1938), he has published the first comprehensive account of the rise and development of sculpture and architecture in Siam from the earliest times to the 16th century. Based chiefly on the researches of Coedès to whom the author freely acknowledges his indebtedness, this work distinguishes no less than nine different schools:—(1) Pure Indian, up to the 5th century, (2) Mon-Indian (Gupta), 5th to 10th centuries, (3) Hindu-Javanese, 7th to 12th centuries, (4) Khmer and Mon-Khmer transition, 10th to 13th centuries, (5) Tai (Chiengsen), 11th to 14th centuries, (6) Tai (Suk'ot'ai), 13th to 14th centuries, (7) Khmer-Tai transition (U'kong), 13th to 14th centuries, (8) Tai (Lopburi), 15th to 17th centuries, (9) Tai (Ayudhya), 14th to 17th centuries. To these has to be added a tenth, viz. the school of Funan. The influences bearing on all these schools, however, have been, directly or indirectly, all Indian. Le May's views have been endorsed by Coedès who points out (*J.R.A.S.*, 1939) that the former has rightly prolonged the Mon-Indian school to the eleventh century and has emphasized the influence of the Pala art upon the Chieng-sen school.

Among recent explorers of ancient sites in Siam we may mention H. G. Quaritch Wales. As early as 1931 he had published his work, *Siamese State ceremonies, their history and function*, where he showed that these ceremonies were a curious blend of Brahmanical and Buddhist elements

and might be traced back to India through literary sources. As leader of the first research expedition (1934) under the auspices of the newly started *Greater India Research Committee* in London, he explored, with the aid of a generous grant of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Siamese portion of the Malay Peninsula. His discoveries including those of Brahmanical images at Takuapa (Ptolemy's Takkola) on the west coast and at Caiya on the coast of the Bay of Bandon in the east led him to confirm R. C. Majumdar's view relating to location of seat of the Śailendra dynasty in Malay. What is more, he held Caiya to be the original capital of this dynasty. He further suggested as against Parmentier and Bosch, that the region around the Bay of Bandon deriving its original inspiration from Indian influences across Takuapa was the cradle of the Far Eastern civilisation (See H. G. Quaritch Wales 'A newly explored route of Ancient Indian cultural expansion,' *I.A.L.*, IX, 1935). In his second expedition (1935-36) the same intrepid explorer visited the ancient site of Pong Tuk excavated by the Archaeological Department of Siam in 1927, and he was rewarded with the discovery of a ruined brick *stūpa* and *vihāra* of the Dvāravati period. He explored the ancient city of Srideb in Southern Siam which had been discovered by Prince Damrong in 1905 and had produced a few sculptures identified by Coedès as belonging to the Gupta school. Quaritch Wales' discoveries at this site consisted of the plan of the deserted city recalling that of Ancient Indian towns, of a ruined brick tower on a pyramidal base resembling the Gupta brick temple at Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore district, of Vaiṣṇava sculptures recalling the figures on the Gupta temple at Bhumara and of stone inscriptions in South Indian characters of the early sixth century (See H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The Exploration of Śrī Deva*, *A.B.I.A.*, Vol. X.).

A fresh field for exploration of Siamese sites has been opened by the enterprise of the French School of the Far East in our own times. A convention signed with the Siamese Government in 1937 has given the School the right

of archaeological exploration in the country for a minimum period of five years. The first expedition led by Pierre Dupont in 1939 succeeded in excavating on an ancient site near Nakon Pathom the remains of a *stūpa* recalling the most archaic models of South India and Ceylon along with other antiquities belonging to the art of Dvāravatī (7th-8th centuries). At Nakon Pathom were also discovered votive tablets with the Buddhist creed in Pallava characters analogous to those of the oldest Indo-Chinese inscriptions of the 5th century A.D. (See *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXIX 1939 for a full account illustrated with plans).

In the field of general history we have to mention the important work of W.A.R. Wood, *A History of Siam from the earliest times to the year A.D. 1781* (London, 1926). While it has the merit of giving the first connected account of the country based on first-hand sources, it unfortunately fails to do justice to the period covered by the Hinduised pre-Tai states of Siam. It brings down the history of Siam to the date of accession of Rama I, the founder of the present dynasty.

From a general review of the above accounts it will appear that an enormous influence was exercised by Indian civilisation upon Siam (or Thailand) during the past centuries. Not to speak of the bronze Buddha images directly imported from Amarāvati by Indian immigrants probably in the 3rd century, A.D., the Mons who were the dominant people in Central Siam (c. 500-1000 A.D.) with Dvāravatī as their centre were devout Buddhists of the Hinayāna school. The Buddha images of this period have been shown to bear close affinities to those of Sarnath and the Ajanta caves. The Mons have left behind inscriptions not only in their own language, but also in Sanskrit and Pāli. At a later period North Siam with Haripuñjaya (Lampun) as its centre was colonised by the Mons or Mon-speaking races. These colonists also were fervent Buddhists and they covered their cities with beautiful temples and *stūpas*. In Siamese Malay under the rule of the Hinduised Śrīvijaya and Śailendra dynasties Caiya and Nagara Srithammarat (Ligor) on the east

coast and Takuapa on the west coast were important centres of Indian culture. On these sites have been discovered Mahāyāna Buddhist bronzes derived from Pala art and Brahmanical stone sculptures apparently based on Pallava art. It seems that there was at this period a fresh wave of immigration from East India. Between the 3rd and 6th centuries Central Siam (with its centre at Lopburi) as well as North-East Siam was included in the kingdom of Funan. The kingdom of Cambodia extended its sovereignty over the same region between the 10th and the 13th centuries. During this long period Brahmanism as well as Buddhism was in high favour. The Gupta art (according to Coedès) or the Pallava, Chālukya and Pāṇḍya art (according to Le May) furnished the model for the Funan images. Khmer sculpture forms a distinctive type which is found in its pure form in the North-East and is mingled with Mon elements in Central Siam. From the 13th century onwards Siam has been ruled by the Tai, a Mongoloid people from the Chinese province of Yunnan. The various Tai dynasties which were in power with their capitals at Chiengmai, Chiengsen, U'kong, Ayudhya and Bangkok were from time to time in contact with the great Empire of China. Nevertheless the civilisation of the Tai from first to last is almost completely dominated by Indian and allied cultures. The oldest Tai (Chiengsen) school of Siam has been proved to derive its new type of Buddha image from Pala art through the intermediary of Pagan. With the Suk'ot'ai school began a new Buddha type based largely on Chiengsen, but also partaking for the first time of Sinhalese influence. From this time Sinhalese Buddhism began to exercise considerable influence upon the religion and art of Siam. Nevertheless we find that at the beginning of the Ayudhya period in the 16th century there was erected a considerable number of Brahmanical images testifying to the continuation of the Indian influence. [For references, see Reginald Le May, *Buddhist Art in Siam*, pp. 149-150].

inscriptions and the gradual expansion of the Khmer domination.

The remarkable advance that has been achieved in recent years in our knowledge of Cambodian history and antiquities is almost entirely due to the activities of the French School, and above all, of its illustrious Directors Louis Finot and George Coédès and architect Henri Parmentier. To begin with archaeology, there appeared under the auspices of this School a volume (in French) called *General Lists of inscriptions and monuments of Champa and Cambodia*, 2nd ed., 1923. The first part dealing with inscriptions was the work of Coédès and the second describing the monuments was written by Parmentier. In *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXV (1925), XXVIII (1928), and XXIX (1929) Finot published a number of important inscriptions (especially from Angkor) discovered since 1923. The school took the lead in carrying into effect a scheme of Corpus of Cambodian inscriptions first projected by Georges Maspero. Between 1926 and 1928 there appeared four volumes, Vols. I-III, Paris, 1926-27, Vol. IV Paris 1928, of *Inscriptions of Cambodia* containing the facsimiles of inscriptions not comprised in the work of Barth and Bergaigne or else occurring there without facsimiles. A fifth volume of the usual facsimiles of Sanskrit inscriptions was published by Finot in 1931. The sixth and last volume of the Corpus containing 44 Plates of new inscriptions discovered since 1929 was produced by Coédès in 1937. To this last the author added the text and translation of the inscriptions concerned, under the title *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 1 (Hanoi, 1937). Meanwhile Coédès had deciphered (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI, 1931) two inscriptions of Funan, one mentioning the installation of the foot-prints of God Viṣṇu by King Guṇavarman (first half of fifth century) and the other referring to Kings Jayavarman and Rudravarman (first half of sixth century). The same scholar has since identified (*J.G.I.S.*, IV, 2 July 1937) a newly discovered epigraph as referring to this Jayavarman who reigned at the end of the 5th century. The inscription which begins with invocation

to Lord Viṣṇu records the foundation of a hermitage by Jayavarman's principal Queen called Kulaprabhāvatī.

Coming to monuments and works of art, it could be a matter of reproach as late as 1921 that while disproportionate attention had been given to the epigraphy and philology of Cambodia, its art and archaeology had never been methodically studied. [Cf. Groslier, *Arts et Archéologie Khmers*, I (1921-22), Fasc. I, Introduction, pp. 7ff.]. During the last twenty years, however, the School has pursued a ceaseless and most successful campaign of archaeological exploration and research. To take a few examples, we may begin by referring to Henri Marchal's discovery at Roluoh (identified by Çœdés with Hariharālaya, a capital of Jayavarman II), of a temple belonging to the end of the ninth century. Other excavations have recently been carried out at Phnom Kulen, probably identical with Mahendraparvata, another capital of Jayavarman II (latter half of 8th century—854 A.D.). These discoveries have proved (Philippe Stern, *La transition de l'art préangkoréen à l'art angkoréen et Jayavarman II* in *Études d'Orientalisme Linossier*, pp. 507-524) the architectural style of Jayavarman II to be intermediary between the 'primitive' and the 'classical' Khmer art. In the Angkor group of monuments themselves Çœdés has recently discovered a pre-Angkor monument. Remains of three brick towers having been brought to light by Marchal in 1930, Çœdés was able to prove the identity of the central tower with the sanctuary of Kuṭisvara of the reign of Jayavarman II mentioned in the inscriptions. At Bantay Srei (Īśvarapura), 12 miles north-east of Angkor, was discovered in 1914 a Śivite temple which has been proved (Çœdés, *B.E.F.E.O.* 1929) to have wholly belonged to the reign of Jayavarman V (10th century). The temple, which consisted of three sanctuaries and two libraries adorned with exquisite reliefs representing Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava mythology, has formed the subject of a magnificent monograph called *Le Temple d'Īśvarapura (Bantay Srei)*, Paris, 1926. In this volume which forms the first of the series of *Memoirs of the French School of the Far East* the monuments have

been described by Parmentier, the images by Goloubev, the inscriptions and general history by Finot.

By far the most important and fruitful of these explorations and researches have centred around the wonderful group of monuments at Angkor which was the capital of the Cambodian kingdom for more than five centuries. To the assiduous care of Henri Marchal the conservator of the group of Angkor monuments since 1916 is due a good deal of valuable work in the way of exploration, conservation and popularisation of these monuments. The first complete photographic inventory of the great monument of Angkor Vat was published as the second Memoir of the French School of the Far-East in a series of magnificent volumes (in French) called *The Temple of Angkor Vat*. Part I of this monumental work bearing the title *The Architecture of the Monument* (2 Vols., Paris & Brussels, 1929) was illustrated with 73+78 Plates and 2 Plans with a Preface by Finot tracing the history of the temple from its foundation to its restoration under French auspices in recent times. Part II called *The Ornamental Sculpture of the Temple* (2 Vols., Paris & Brussels, 1930) was brought out with 436 Plates and 2 Plans with an Introduction by Goloubev. Part III. called *The Gallery of bas-reliefs* (3 Vols., Paris 1932) was illustrated with 64+146+112 Plates and 4+5+3 Plans with a Preface by Cœdès. Among the subjects of these world-famed bas-reliefs are legends of Viṣṇu and his two incarnations of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the Hindu Heavens and Hells and the like. Altogether these seven volumes form a worthy record of the imperishable temple which has been rightly reckoned among the greatest monuments of the world because of the amplitude of its architecture and the richness of its sculpture. Built as a Viṣṇuite temple between the years 1115 and 1180 A.D. by Sūryavarman II and his nephew and successor Dharanindravarman II, Angkor Vat underwent strange vicissitudes of fortune, for it was appropriated by Jayavarman VII (1181-1201) to the cult of Mahāyāna Buddhism and was afterwards annexed to Hinayāna Buddhism. Passing to the famous city of Angkor

Thom (north of Angkor Vat) with its well-known group of monuments like the Bayon and the Baphuon, we may first mention that the Baphuon has been recently identified by Çœdés (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI) with Svarṇādri which the inscriptions record to have been built by Udayādityavarman II in the second half of the eleventh century. Of fundamental importance is the discovery due to the recent researches of Çœdés and Goloubev that the present city of Angkor Thom with its group of monuments was not built by Yaśovarman I at the close of the ninth century as was formerly supposed, nor by Sūryavarman I (1002-1049) as was later suggested by Philippe Stern (*Le Bayon d' Angkor et l'évolution de l'art Khmer*, Paris 1927), but was the work of Jayavarman VII at the close of the twelfth century A.D. The excavations carried out during 1931-32 and 1933-34 under the guidance of Goloubev supplemented by aerial surveys of the site have since revealed the plan of the original city of Yaśovarman I, which was a rectangle like its successor but was larger in size. At the exact centre of the rectangle representing the older city stands the Śivite temple of Phnom Bakheng which Goloubev has shown to be identical with the Central Mount mentioned in Yaśovarman I's inscriptions to have been built by that monarch for housing the tutelary deity of the realm. (See Çœdés, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXVIII, Goloubev, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXIII; *Ibid.*, XXXIV, *J.A.*, CCXXVI, 1935). So far as the Bayon (formerly identified with the Central Mount is concerned), the excavations carried out in 1933-34 in the pit of the central tower revealed fragments of a stone statue which have since been restored to form a large-sized Buddha image seated on a pedestal beneath the canopy of a polycephalous Nāga. This statue, which has been reckoned among the finest sculptures of Cambodia found so far, has been identified by Çœdés as the image of Jayavarman VII deified as Buddha. To the same scholar is due the suggestion that the large number of four-faced stone towers for which the Bayon is so famous represent colossal portraits of the great Emperor in the guise of Avalokiteśvara, the All-merciful deity of the Mahāyānist pantheon. Quite recently

Coedès has suggested in the light of fresh excavations that the central block of the Bayon was built by Jayavarman VII as a central temple of his restored capital with his own statue in the form of a Buddha.

The important discoveries connected with Angkor Thom and its great monument of the Bayon have resulted in a complete reconstruction of the chronology of Khmer art. The new chronology may be stated as follows: (1) pre-Angkor style, 6th-9th centuries; (2) style of Lolei and Koh Ker, 10th century; (3) styles of Bantay Srei, Baphuon, Angkor Vat, 11th-12th centuries; (4) style of Bayon, 12th-13th centuries.

We have described the remarkable progress that the French School has achieved in the way of archaeological exploration and research. This work has been accompanied by that of conservation of the monuments concerned. A new era was opened in this line by the journey of Marchal to Indonesia in 1930 with the object of studying the Dutch methods of reconstruction (*Anastylose*) which had been so successfully applied to *Chandi Kalasan* and other Javanese monuments. The happy results of Marchal's expedition were seen in his reconstruction on similar lines of the southern sanctuary of the temple at Bantay Srei belonging to the 10th century (For a popular account of this reconstruction, see *IAL.*, vii, 1933).

The growth of Museums has kept pace with the march of archaeological exploration and research sketched above. Not to speak of the fine collections at the Louis Finot Museum at Hanoi, the Henri Parmentier Museum at Tourane, the Blanchard de la Brosse Museum at Saigon (created as late as 1929), we may mention the Albert Sarraut Museum at Phnom Penh (founded in 1919) which has been described as "the National Museum of Khmer art from the earliest to the most recent times." The important collections of these Museums have been made available for study and research by the publication of adequate catalogues enriched with Introductions describing classifications of styles. To confine ourselves to those dealing with Cambodian antiquities, we may mention the cata-

logues of the Phnom Penh Museum by Goloubev (*Ars Asiatica*, XVI, 1931) and of the Hanoi Museum by Marchal (Hanoi 1939). Reference may also be made to the catalogue of Indo-Chinese collections at the Musée Guimet (Paris 1934) by P. Dupont and others.

Turning to the critical studies of Cambodian art and archaeology, we have to record continuous progress during the last twenty years. A great impetus was given to these studies by the appearance of the valuable Review *Arts et Archéologie Khmers* under the able editorship of George Groslier. The successive numbers of this Journal for the years 1921-24 contain, along with fine illustrations of the monuments and their sculptures, weighty contributions on such topics as the temples of Ta Prohm and Prah Vihear, the Rāma legend on the temple of Angkor Vat, the bronzes and ceramics of Ancient Cambodia and the evolution of Cambodian art. In his work *La Sculpture Khmère ancienne* (Paris 1925), Groslier propounded a new theory of the origin and evolution of Khmer art which, however, has failed to command acceptance. According to his view, Kambuja art began in the 1st-7th centuries A.D. and its remnants are monuments of purely Indian character. Cambodian art properly so-called, which has no connection with the art of the first period, began only in the 8th-9th centuries A.D. The first adequate study of Khmer bronzes with reference to their date and origin, their iconography and comparison with Siamese, Javanese and Indian bronzes, was given by Coëdès in his finely illustrated work *Bronzes Khmers* (*Ars Asiatica*, Vol. V, 1923). The specimens were selected from public and private collections at Bangkok as well as from the collections at the royal palace at Phnom Penh and the museums of Cambodia and the French School at Hanoi. In his German work called *Old-Javanese Bronzes from the Ethnographic Collection of the Natural History Museum at Vienna* (Wien, 1925), Heine-Geldern described the character and quality of the Javanese bronzes and their relation to the Indian and Wayang types. A brief account of Cambodian architecture and sculpture was given by A. K. Coomara-

swamy in his well-known work *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927). By far the most important works on Khmer art that have appeared in recent times are those of Parmentier [*L'art Khmer primitif*, 2 vols., Paris 1927; *Complément à l'Art Khmer primitif*, B.E.F.E.O., 1936; *L'art Khmer classique: Monuments du Quadrant Nord-Est*; 2 Vols. Vol. I Text, Vol. II Plates (architectural drawings), Paris, 1929]. In these works we get a masterly and well-illustrated account of all the known Khmer monuments together with general characteristics of their style and valuable discussions on the relations between Khmer art and the related arts of Champa, Java and India. In his article *The History of Khmer Architecture* (*Eastern Art*, III, 1931), Parmentier gave a detailed analysis of the imported Indian architecture of Funan, of the architecture, sculpture and minor arts of the Early Khmer period and of the architecture of the classical period. In the same context he distinguished three chronological divisions of Khmer architecture, viz. Early Khmer (6th-8th centuries), Classical (9th-15th centuries) with five subdivisions, and Modern (from the 15th century onwards). Intensive studies in the evolution of the Khmer pilaster and pediment as well as of the *makara* arch have been recently carried out by Mme. Gilberte de Coral Rémusat (*Annales d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris 1935; *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, ix, 1935; B.E.F.E.O., 1936). A type of temple called *nandika* said to have been built by Indravarman I (9th century) in one of his recently discovered inscriptions has been identified and described in the light of references in the Indian *śilpasastras* by U. N. Ghoshal (J.G.I.S., vii., No. 2, July 1940).

A fundamental question discussed by Parmentier in recent times in connection with his studies on Khmer art is its relation to Indian art. In a paper on *The common origin of Hindu architecture in India and the Far East* contributed originally in French to the *Études Asiatiques* (*Ibid.*, II Paris, 1925) and afterwards translated into English in the *Rūpam*, (Calcutta 1929), Parmentier concluded from an exhaustive analysis that the origin of all forms of Indian architecture is to

be found in the lost model of the ancient Buddhist Saṅghārāma of wooden construction, a type, which spreading outwards with the progress of Buddhism, was developed independently in each country according to its local conditions. This conclusion was re-asserted by the author in his later works (Cf. *L'art Khmer primitif*, Vol. I, p. 349). In her paper on the common origin of the lintels of Pallava India and the pre-Angkorian Khmer lintels (*R.A.A.*, viii, 1934), Mme. G. de Coral Rémusat has been driven to the same conclusion by an exhaustive comparison of Khmer and Pallava lintels. On the other hand, Reginald Le May (*Buddhist Art in Siam*, pp. 63-66) has recently drawn pointed attention to the close affinity between the early Khmer architecture and that of the early mediaeval temples of Kharod and Sirpur in the Central Provinces of India. Coedès has similarly recalled (*J.R.A.S.*, 1939) the astonishing parallelism between the Bhitargaon temples of the Early Gupta period and certain temple-towers of the pre-Angkor period.

Another important question discussed in recent times, which is of great interest for the student of Indian culture is the symbolism of the Cambodian monuments. Referring to the Angkor group, Przyluski has suggested that the square design and the central temple characteristic of such monuments is the architectural representation of the universe according to Indian and Indo-Chinese ideas of town-planning. Regarding the other characteristics of these monuments P. Mus has held that the giants' bridges at Angkor, generally interpreted as illustrating the churning of the ocean, in reality stand for the rainbow which according to Indian traditions is a link between the world of man and the world of gods which is materialised on earth by the royal city, while the four-faced stone towers for which the Bayon is so famous are the four-faced images of the God Avalokiteśvara. According to the same scholar the Bayon is both a portrait of its bulider Jayavarman VII and a literal realization in stone of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, "the Bible of Sanskrit Buddhism". The symbolism of Angkor Vat has been the subject of some remarkable controversy in recent

times. While Przyluski (*Festschrift Winternitz*, pp. 326-332; *J.I.S.O.A.*, V, pp. 131-44) held that it was a funerary monument of its builder Jayavarman VII, Coedès (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXIII) has declared that it was neither a temple nor a tomb but a funerary temple, thus denying its unique character and bringing it into line with the general body of the Khmer monuments.

Coming to the general history of Cambodia and its civilisation, we have to mention the work of E. Aymonier (*Histoire de l'ancien Cambodge*) bringing up-to-date his comprehensive volumes (*Le Cambodge*) already mentioned. An ambitious work illustrating Cambodian life and culture from the first century of the Christian era onwards in the light of the extant monuments and other antiquities was published by E. Groslier (*Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, Paris 1921). It consists of two parts, Part I dealing with writing, habitations, commerce, dress and ornaments and the like, while Part II describes the monuments, with their sculptures. To an Indian scholar, Bijan Raj Chatterjee, we owe a popular monograph (*Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, Calcutta 1928) based on the researches of French scholars. It traces the political history of Cambodia from the earliest times and concludes with interesting notices of Indian influences upon its civilisation. A work of a different kind is the *Bibliographie de l'Indochine Française* (1913-26), Hanoi 1929, and *Ibid.* (1927-29), Hanoi, 1932 forming the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Sinica* of Henri Cordier already mentioned.

In the above pages we have recorded the achievements of the French School in the way of recovery of the lost culture of Cambodia. The School has also sought to introduce something like a cultural renaissance in the lands under its jurisdiction. To its stimulus and continued support we owe the foundation and maintenance not only of the Buddhist Institute at Phnom Penh, but also of the Royal Libraries of Cambodia and Laos at their present capitals Phnom Penh and Luang Prabang. Most recently has been founded under its auspices the Pāli school at Phnom Penh, which

by its publication of a series of canonical texts, has led to a renaissance of Pāli students among the people.

A general survey of pre-Khmer and Khmer culture such as we obtain from the above records reveals the immense hold exercised by Indian civilisation upon it during the whole course of its history. In the oldest times Funan with its capital at Vyādhapura had its Indian dynasty tracing descent from the Brahman Kauṇḍinya and including Guṇavarman (a patron of Vaiṣṇavism), Jayavarman and Rudravarman (probably a Buddhist). Śaivism (including the worship of a perpetual *liṅga*) was the predominant religion. The Kambuja kings of the late 6th and the 7th centuries, who delivered Cambodia from the yoke of Funan claimed descent from the R̥ṣi Kambu. How deeply rooted was the Hindu influence at this time will appear from the fact that the Brahman Vidyāviśeṣa, a high official of King Kṣānavarman is credited with a sound knowledge of Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya and Buddhism. Jayavarman II who unified the country under his rule in the early part of the ninth century introduced a Tantrik form of Śaivism centering around a *liṅga* (*Jagat ta Raja*) which became the tutelary deity of the kingdom. Yaśovarman I (889-910 A.D.), the builder of the first city of Angkor including the Śivite temple of Phnom Bakheng, was the author of a number of Sanskrit inscriptions written in the native Cambodian alphabet of South Indian origin and in a North Indian script as well as of other Sanskrit inscriptions written in the same North Indian script which indicate an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature. Sūryavarman II (1112-1152 A.D.), built the wonderful Viṣṇu temple at Angkor Vat enshrining probably his own image in the guise of God Viṣṇu. Jayavārman VII, the last of the Grand Monarchs of Cambodia, has now been shown to have built the present city of Angkor Thom with its wonderful group of monuments including the Bayon. Throughout this period Sanskrit literature in all its branches, including above all grammar and *kāvya*, was studied assiduously, as is proved by the evidence of the inscriptions. Brahmanism including specially the worship of Śiva was the

dominant religion. The *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* (of which there was a version in Cambodia) and the *Harivaṁśa* furnished the themes of numerous bas-reliefs of the Cambodian temples. Among the most frequently illustrated scenes are the churning of the ocean, the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, Kṛṣṇa holding aloft the mountain Govardhana, Viṣṇu reposing in slumber upon the serpent Ananta with Brahma seated on a lotus springing from his navel, and so forth.

CHAMPA.

The country of Champa, corresponding to the Annam province of French Indo-China without its northern districts, was inhabited from ancient times by the Chams, a people of Malay-Polynesian stock. Ruled by Hindu dynasties for nearly twelve centuries from the second or third century onwards, it became a great centre of Sanskrit culture testified to at present by its numbers of Sanskrit inscriptions. During this time the chief cities (Champāpuri, Indrapura, Vijaya, etc.,) of Champādeśa (as it was called in the inscriptions), were adorned with fine monuments dedicated to Brahmanism as well as Buddhism. And yet Champa could not vie with Cambodia or Java in the greatness of its monuments. Exposed to the attacks of its formidable adversaries (specially the Annamites in the north and the Cambodians in the west and south) who ravaged their country more than once, the people lived an agitated and precarious life allowing little leisure for development of the arts of peace. The brick constructions of the shrines have not helped to preserve them to our own times.

It is characteristic of the difference between Champa and Cambodia that while the great advance in our knowledge of Cambodian art, archaeology and general history has taken place only during the last twenty years, the study of Champa antiquities was all but completed by the middle of the second decade of this century. To begin with archaeology, we have referred above to the publication of the text and translation of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia

and Champa by Barth and Bergaigne in 1885 and 1893. An important collection of inscriptions in Champa was edited by Aymonier in *J.A.*, 1891. After the foundation of the *French School of the Far East*, a large number of new inscriptions of Champa was edited in its famous *Bulletin* by Finot (see specially *Ibid.*, II-IV.) and by Huber (*Ibid.*, IX, XI & XIV). Valuable lists of inscriptions from Champa were published by Cœdès in the same Journal (Vol. VIII & Vol. XV). In the early years of this century Parmentier carried out a series of important excavations on the sites of the Buddhist monastery at Dong Duong (Indrapura) and the Brahmanical shrines at Myson and Po-Nagar. In 1909 the same scholar published the first volume of his great work on the Cham monuments (*Inventaire descriptif des monuments Chams de l'Annam*) bearing the sub-title of '*Description of the monuments*'. It contains an exhaustive account of all known Cham monuments within and outside the country with valuable preliminary notices of their geographical environment and general characteristics of their style. Meanwhile the valuable Chinese texts bearing on the history of Champa were brought to light by Pelliot, Maspero and Aurousseau (*B.E.F.E.O.*, IV. & XIV). The scattered references in the Chinese and Annamite records and the evidence of Cham and Cambodian inscriptions were pieced together by Maspero in his important monograph called *The Kingdom of Champa* (*Le Royaume du Champa*, 1914) tracing the history of this kingdom from the earliest times to the final conquest of the greater part of the country by the Annamites in 1471 A.D.

The work that has been done in the investigation of the ancient Cham history and culture during the last twenty-five years has been mostly of a supplementary character. In 1918 Parmentier completed his masterly survey of Cham monuments by publishing the second volume of his great *Descriptive Inventory* bearing the sub-title of *A Study of Cham art*. Besides giving an elaborate account of the details of Cham architecture and sculpture, it described the civilisation and state of religion revealed by the monuments.

the genius of Cham art, its origin and successive periods, its aesthetics and so forth. The same scholar afterwards published (in French) his *Descriptive Catalogue of Cham sculptures in the Tourane Museum (Ars Asiatica, 1922)*. In 1923 Coëdès and Parmentier published their *General Lists of inscriptions and monuments in Champa and Cambodge* to which reference has been made above. Mention may be made in this connection of the important *Catalogue of Indo-Chinese (including Cham) collections at the Musée Guimet* (in French) by Pierre Dupont and others (Paris, 1934). Meanwhile important excavations were carried out by the French School on the site of Tra-Kieu long before (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XIV) identified by Aourousseau with the first capital of the Cham Kingdom. The reliefs of the Tra-Kieu temple have since been identified by Coëdès (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXII) as illustrating the story of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma told in the *Hariṣaṃsa* and the *Purāṇas*. As regards conservation of monuments, one of the most interesting examples in recent times has been the reconstruction by J.Y. Claeys of the principal temple-tower of Po-Nagar built in 817 A.D. (For a popular account, see J.Y. Claeys, *Po-Nagar, Recent work of restoration by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, A.B.I.A.*, 1931). Coming to general history, we have to mention R.C. Majumdar's publication of a comprehensive account of the history and culture of Champa (*Champa: Greater India Society's publication No. 1, Lahore 1927*), forming the first volume of a projected series called *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*. This volume, while based principally upon the monumental *Le Royaume du Champa* of Maspero and *Inventaire descriptif des monuments Chams* of Parmentier, seeks to throw new light upon some of the problems of general history and the history of the art of Champa. Most interesting is the author's attempt to prove against the high authority of Parmentier his thesis that Cham architecture was derived from Chalukya and Pallava styles as illustrated by the temples of Badami, Conjeeveram and Mahabalipuram. The value of Majumdar's work has been enhanced by its including the first complete Corpus of inscriptions from

Champa with his own translations and notes. More recently the problem of palaeography of the earliest Champa inscriptions, on which hinges the question of *provenance* of the first Indian colonists, has been discussed by R.C. Majumdar (*B.E.F.E.O.*, 1932) and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*B.E.F.E.O.*, 1935). In his paper *Date of the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Champa* (*J.G.I.S.*, VI, 1939), D. C. Sircar has suggested a late date, viz. the 4th century A.D., for the famous Vo-chañh rock inscription.

The researches of an Annamite scholar of the French School, based on an exhaustive study of the Annamite and Chinese as well as European authorities, have recently disclosed the interesting history of the origin and progress of Buddhism in Ancient Annam. Buddhism, it appears, was probably introduced from India into Annam by the direct sea-route. Among its great missionaries were the Indian monks Mārajivaka and Kṣudra (294 A.D.), not to speak of the Soghdian monk Song-houei (c. 280 A.D.) and the Indo-Scythian monk Kalyāṇaruchi (255 or 256 A.D.) (See Tran van Giap, *Le Bouddhisme en Annam des origines au XIII^e siècle*, *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1932). Excavations recently carried out in Annam have resulted in the discoveries of sculptures suggesting to J.Y. Claeys the Indian origin of Annam's first civilisation.

MALAYASIA.

The vast regions comprised in the modern Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago (otherwise called Indonesia or Insulinde) were inhabited from remote times by peoples of Austronesian speech. Known to Ancient Indian literature under the vague designations of *Suvarṇa-bhūmi* and *Suvarṇadvīpa* and to the ancient Greek, Chinese and Arab writers under equivalent terms, they were visited by Indian merchants at least as early as the first century A.D. and were afterwards colonised by Indian settlers. 'Paloura' (or to give it its Indian name Dantapura) in Kalinga was in the oldest times the great port of embarkation from India to the Far East. Especially in Java, Sumatra and

Malay the Hindu civilisation took firm root, as is evidenced by the records of numerous Hindu (or Hinduised) kingdoms flourishing in those regions for at least a thousand years till they were engulfed by the advancing tide of Islam in the 15th and 16th centuries. Twice during this long period, under the great Śailendra dynasty and under the Indo-Javanese empire of Majapahit (called in Sanskrit *Vilvatikṭa*), the greater part of *Suvarṇadvīpa* was brought under one political control.

JAVA.

Apparently the oldest references to the island of Java are to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa under the name of *Java-dvīpa* and in Ptolemy's Geography in the form of *Iavadiou* translated as 'Barley Island'. A king called Devavarman, as appears from a Chinese literary reference, ruled the country in the first part of the 2nd century A.D. In the beginning of the 5th century Fa Hian found Brahmanism flourishing in the island. The oldest Sanskrit inscriptions found in the island mention king Pūrṇavarman, son (?) of a Rājādhirāja and grandson of a Rājarsi, who ruled over Western Java in the 5th or 6th century A.D. The oldest Sanskrit inscription from Central Java written probably in the seventh century shows this region to have been equally saturated with Brahmanical culture. Under the succeeding dynasties, as is proved by the splendid remains of architecture and sculpture dating from the eighth century and the works of the Old Javanese literature practically dating from the eleventh century, an Indo-Javanese civilisation flourished exceedingly.

The early steps towards investigation of Javanese history and culture were marked by the foundation of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences (the oldest of the learned Societies of the East) in 1778, by the first scientific exploration of the Barābuḍur and Prambanan monuments during the British interregnum by order of the Lt. Governor Sir Stamford Raffles (the founder of archaeological research in Java), by the publication of Raffles's *History of Java* (1st edition, 1817) and lastly, by the issue of the first scientific

study of Javanese art in 1824 by C. J. C. Reuvens, Director of the newly founded Leyden Museum. The critical study of the extensive Indo-Javanese literature largely based upon the Sanskrit was begun by Friedrich's editions of the *Vṛttasañchaya*, the *Arjunavivāha* and the *Bhoma-kāvya* (1849-51) and his disquisitions on the Javanese Vedas, *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and so forth (*Proceedings of the Batavia Society*, 1849). In the seventh decade of the last century H. Kern initiated the critical study of Indonesian epigraphy by editing a number of Sanskrit inscriptions from Sumatra, Java and Borneo (*V.G.*, VI), while A. B. Cohen Stuart published (in Dutch) an important collection of Charters in the native Kawi language with Introduction, facsimile and transcript (Leyden 1875) and W. P. Groeneveldt wrote his valuable *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources* (Batavia, 1877). In the following decade local museums were started at Jogjakarta (afterwards transferred to Prambanan) and at Dieng, in Central Java. The first catalogue of the archaeological collection of the Museum of the Batavia Society was issued by Groeneveldt in 1887. As regards the study of Indo-Javanese literature, the *Kuṭāra-mānava* (regarded formerly as the highest authority on Law in East Java) was edited with Introduction and Dutch translation by J. B. G. Jonker (Leyden 1885), while H. H. Juynboll in 1893 published his Dutch translation of the Javanese *Mahābhārata* (*Parvans XV-XVII*) which ushered in a period of serious research on the subject. We may also refer to the important studies in the Indo-Javanese theatre by Brandes (*T.B.G.*, 1889) and by G. A. J. Hazeu (Leyden 1897). The first decade of the present century witnessed, after many years of sad neglect, the establishment in 1901 of the *Committee in Netherlands-India for the Archaeological Explorations in Java and Madura* (replaced by the *Archaeological Service of Netherlands-India* in 1913) with J. L. A. Brandes as its first Chairman. (For a scathing criticism of the archaeological policy of the Dutch Colonial Government, see J. F. Scheltema, *Monumental Java*, London 1912). During the

twelve years of its existence the Committee published a valuable series of Reports (*Rapporten*) noticing the chief antiquities of the island year after year. The Committee also started a series of works (in Dutch) called *Archaeological Explorations in Java and Madura*, of which the first two volumes giving an exhaustive and well-illustrated account of the well-known temples of Caṇḍi Jago and Chaṇḍi Singhasari were published by Brandes in 1904 and 1909 respectively. To the credit of the Committee must also be mentioned the restoration of the great *stūpa* of Barabudūr (1907-11) by Col. Th. van Erp. Another significant feature of this period was the growth of museums. The archaeological collection of the Prambanan Museum was listed by J. Knebel (*Archaeological Report*, 1902) and that of the Dieng Museum by E. A. Sell (*Archaeological Report*, 1912). Meanwhile Juynboll published his Catalogue of Javanese antiquities in the National Museum of Ethnography at Leyden. A new museum was established at Mojokerto near Majapahit in Eastern Java out of the collection made over to the State by an enlightened Javanese Officer in 1913. The Sriwedari Museum was founded at Surakarta in Central Java out of the private collection of a descendant of the Royal House of Mataran. The Museum of the *Royal Colonial Institute at Amsterdam* was founded in 1913. As for epigraphy, Brandes edited a valuable collection of Old-Javanese charters (*Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden*) of which a revised version was brought out by Krom in 1913. As regards the interpretation of the monuments, C. M. Pleyte attempted, with the imperfect materials at his command, a complete identification of the bas-reliefs of the first gallery of Barabudūr with the Lalitavistara text illustrating Buddha's life. His work (in German) bearing the title *The Buddha legend in the sculptures of the temple of Borobudūr* was published from Amsterdam in 1901. The progress in the study of Indo-Javanese literature was marked by Kern's studies on the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (*Rāmāyaṇa, Oud-Javaansche Heldendicht*, 1900) and his translation of the first six cantos of the same work (*V.G., X.*), by Juynboll's edition

of the Javanese *Ādiparva* (1906) and *Virāṭaparva* (1912), by J. G. H. Gunning's edition (1903) of the *Bhāratayuddha*, "the Iliad of the Javanese people." Meanwhile the rich stores of the Javanese and related literature were made accessible to scholars by the publication (in Dutch) of the *Catalogue of the Javanese and Madurese Mss. in the Leyden University Library* by Vreede (1892) and the *Catalogue of the Malay and Sundanese Mss. in the same library* by Juynboll (1899). A Supplement to the Catalogue of Javanese and Madurese Mss. of the Leyden University Library was published by Juynboll in two volumes (Leyden, 1907 & 1911), and a Supplement to the Catalogue of Sundanese as well as Balinese and Sasak Mss. in the same library was issued by the same scholar in 1912. These catalogues brought to light a large number of Old-Javanese poems of the Kakawin (roughly corresponding to Sanskrit Kāvya) class, such as the *Indravijaya* (story of Vṛtra's triumph and his subsequent death at Indra's hands), the *Fārthayajña* (story of Arjuna's asceticism and acquisition of the Pāśupata weapon), the *Sumanasūntaka* (story of the death of Indumatī, Queen of Aja and mother of Daśaratha) and the *Harivaṁśa* (story of Rukmiṇī's abduction by Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa's war with Jarāsandha). Useful comparisons were made by Hazeu in his (Dutch) work called *The Old-Javanese Ādiparva and its Sanskrit original* (T.B.G., 1901) and by Wulff in his (Danish) work called *The Old-Javanese Virāṭaparva and its Sanskrit original* (1917). Valuable light was thrown upon the Javanese religion by Juynboll's publication of Sanskrit *mantras* (with Old-Javanese translations) for the worship of Viṣṇu and his incarnations as well as by J. Kats's edition with an accompanying Dutch translation (1910) of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan, a fundamental work on Javanese Buddhism.

During the last twenty-five years a steady, though not uninterrupted, progress has been maintained in all branches of Javanese research. To begin with archaeological exploration and research, under the fostering care of F. W. K. Bosch and W. F. Stutterheim, two successive Directors of

the Archaeological Service of Java, the scope of the Service was gradually widened so as to include prehistoric archaeology along with Balinese, Muslim, Christian and European antiquities. The activities of the Service were registered in successive numbers of its valuable *Archaeological Reports*. (*Oudheidkundig Verslag*). Vol. VI of this Report (1926) contains an excellent summary of Archaeological work in Netherlands-India from 1901 to 1926 from the pen of N. J. Krom. The publication of these Reports, however, was stopped in 1931, to be resumed only in 1936. Meanwhile Bosch initiated a new era in archaeological conservation by starting the complete reconstruction of the ruined monuments in place of the usual practice of restoring their fallen parts. This process (called by the technical title of *Anastylose*) was very successfully applied for the restoration of some of the subsidiary shrines of the great Buddhist temple-complex of Chaṇḍi Sewu (9th century), of the famous Buddhist shrine of Chaṇḍi Kalasan (c. 778 A.D.), of the Śivite temple of Chaṇḍi Singhasari, of the Nāga temple at Panataran and last but not the least, of the great Śiva-shrine of the Lara-Jongrang group (c. 10th century) at Prambanan. Among the important discoveries standing to the credit of the department in recent times may be mentioned that of the two earliest Hindu temples in Central Java on the site of the Changgal inscription of 732 A.D., one of them probably being identical with the Brahmanical temple said to have been built by King Sañjaya in that inscription. Another significant discovery is that of the two oldest temples of Eastern Java, viz., the Śivite shrines of Badut and Besuki dating from the 8th or 9th century, which by their plan and decoration belong to a purely Central Javanese style. We may, lastly, mention the discovery of a group of terraced sanctuaries on Mt. Penanggungan in Eastern Java belonging to the final period of Hinduism in the island (1400-1500 A.D.). These have been supposed to combine the indigenous ancestor-worship with Hinduistic beliefs. In the field of epigraphy, as in that of archaeological exploration, the progress in recent times has not been uninterrupted.

In 1930 the epigraphist who was to have taken up the long-announced and much deferred publication of a *Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum* was transferred to another post and the appointment was not renewed till 1939. On the other hand Stutterheim, Goris, Naerssen and others have edited numbers of new inscriptions in the various learned periodicals. At the same time old inscriptions were re-edited and discussed, e.g. those of king Pūrṇavarman by Vogel (1925) and the Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions by Bosch (*T.B.G.*, 1928). Among Indian scholars who have taken part in this work may be mentioned N. P. Chakravarti, H. B. Sarkar and B. Ch. Chhabra. Among the most notable discoveries in this field in recent times is that of three stone Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman written in 'Pallava script' of the 4th or 5th century A.D., as announced in the Year-Book of the *Batavia Society* for 1941.

Turning to the critical study of Javanese art, we have first to mention the comprehensive account of Indo-Javanese monuments from the earliest times furnished by N. J. Krom's Dutch work called *Introduction to Indo-Javanese Art* (2nd edition, vols. I-II Text, vol. III Plates, 1923). In this monumental work the author, after giving preliminary accounts of the history of Javanese archaeological explorations and the origin and technique of Javanese art, presents for the first time a systematic and detailed description of the monuments and concludes with a rapid review of Javanese metal-work. In the course of his illuminating survey the author clearly and pointedly explains the general characteristics of the building and plastic styles, and he frequently discusses, as in connection with Brandes's theory of the Indian origin of the Buddhist images of the Chanḍi Jago temple, the question of Indian influence. In 1926 Krom published his work (in French) called *Javanese Art in the Museums of Holland and Java* in the *Ars Asiatica Series*. It contains 60 beautiful Plates illustrating specimens of Javanese plastic art in stone and metal together with an illuminating Introduction tracing the development of Javanese art as a whole during successive periods. Recently

R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, Calcutta, 1938) has presented an elaborate and well-illustrated description of Javanese architecture and sculpture based primarily upon Krom's great work, but also incorporating the results of later research.

The all important question of the relation of Indian to Javanese art has been discussed by Bosch in a Dutch paper called *A hypothesis as to the origin of Indo-Javanese Art* (1921; Eng. tr. in *Rūpam*, 1924). While rejecting the comfortable view that the Hindu emigrants were the actual builders of the Middle-Javanese shrines, Bosch seeks to prove from an elaborate comparison between the *Mānasāra* and the existing remains of Javanese architecture and sculpture that the native Javanese actually knew and applied the written instructions, but the texts which in India remained mere academic projects were executed by them with the zeal of neophytes. "The Hindus were the bringers, the propagators and interpreters of technical texts, but the Javans themselves were the makers of the Central-Javanese shrines." Similar, if less definite, views have been expressed by Krom according to whom (Cf. *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, chap. IV) the creators of the art of the Dieng Plateau were neither Hindus nor Indonesians, but rather Hindu-Javans who had adopted the art-traditions of the Indian masters but had also involuntarily introduced some of their Indonesian characteristics. In his *Archaeological Description of Barabudur* (Vol. II, ch. XI) Krom similarly says that the art of Barabudur is not foreign, but is a product of Java, a fusion of Hindu and Javanese elements. With this we may compare the following statement of Stutterheim (*J.A.O.S.*, LI, no. 1). "The Hindu-Javanese Chaṇḍi is neither a Hindu temple nor a truly Hinduistic building, though its shape and ornaments are Hindu in origin. It is a thoroughly Indonesian monument based on purely Indonesian conceptions." Bosch's theory has been criticised by O. C. Gangoly (*Rūpam* 1924) and R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, concluding chapter). According to the last-named author Gupta art was the

source of the architecture and sculpture of Malayasia which remained untouched by South Indian influences till the 10th or 11th century A.D.

No single monument has attracted the attention of scholars so much as the great *stūpa* at Barabudur which has gathered a vast literature around itself since its first scientific description by H. G. Cornelius in 1814. (See *The Bibliography of Barabudur*, 1814-1926 appended to the second volume of Krom's *Archaeological Description* which runs through 18 pages). A magnificent *Description of Barabudur* (in Dutch) illustrated with a complete and sumptuous set of Plates was published by the *Royal Institute of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography* of Netherlands-India in two parts. The first part of this great work bearing the title *Archaeological Description* was issued by Krom in two volumes (1920) (Chap. III of this work with appropriate plates was published by the same author simultaneously in Dutch and in English translation, 1926. The complete translation of the whole work was published later by the same author in 1927). Among the outstanding features of the *Archaeological Description* are the author's complete and accurate identification of panels of the first gallery of the *stūpa* with the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jātaḥamālā* of Āryasūra, the *Divyāvadāna* and other texts suggested before by C. M. Pleyte, S. d'Oldenburg and A. Foucher respectively. He also showed the panels of the second gallery to be illustrative of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (a Mahāyānist Sūtra describing the wanderings of the youth Sudhana all over India in the quest for enlightenment) and those of the third and fourth galleries to be illustrations of as yet unidentified texts associated with the Bodhisattvas Maitreya and Samantabhadra respectively. To his credit must also be mentioned the identification of the Dhyāni-Buddhas of the upper terraces with the group of six Dhyāni-Buddhas with Vajrasattva as their chief known to Nepalese, Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism. The probable date of foundation of the famous monument was found by the author, from a number of short inscriptions at its base, to be the second half of the eighth century.

Finally we have to mention Krom's conclusion that the Buddhism of Barabudur (like Javanese Buddhism in general from first to last) was a kind of Tāntrik Mahāyāna based on the Yogāchāra. The next step in clearing the mystery of the monument was taken by Sylvain Lévi who discovered (*Recherches à Java et à Bali*, Leiden, 1929) the reliefs on the buried basement of Barabudur to be illustrative of a very popular Buddhist text on the working of Karma viz., the Karmavibhāga. The Sanskrit text was published (Paris 1932) by him with a French translation and the parallel Pali, Chinese, Tibetan and Kuchean versions. This was accompanied by a comparative table of the different recensions of the text and the corresponding panels of the Barabudur. Well might the great French scholar exclaim, "The stūpa of Barabudur had revealed one of its last secrets." A detailed comparison of the *Karmavibhaṅga* text and the Barabudur reliefs was made by Krom (*Med. Kon. Ak. van Wet.*, LXXVI, Series B. no. 8). Nearly at the time of Lévi's discovery Bosch was able to prove from a close examination of the original Sanskrit Ms. in Paris that the panels of the third and fourth galleries illustrated the conclusion of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* representing 110 travels of Sudhana mentioned in the text. (See Bosch's Report in *Arch. Rep.* 1929 and his Dutch work called *The Identification of reliefs of the third and fourth galleries of Barabudur*, 1929). It has thus been clearly established that the *Gaṇḍavyūha* was the principal and the central text of the Barabudur.

We have now to refer to the second part of the monumental *Description of Barabudur* above-mentioned. It was published (in Dutch) by van Erp (1931) under the title *The Architectural Description*. Dealing exhaustively with the style, the technique and the ornaments of the monument, the author says that Barabudur is "a special Javanese form of the stūpa, though fitting in the general evolution of the Indian stūpa." The ornaments, according to him, are of purely Indian origin.

The question of symbolism of Barabudur has become, as

has been well said, "an apple of discord among scholars." While Foucher, Parmentier and van Erp have offered what may be called "architectural interpretations" of its unique plan and structure, "religious interpretations" have been presented by Krom, Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka.. The whole question has been discussed in a very thorough fashion by P. Mus in his series of papers (in French) called *Barabudur, the origins of the stūpa and the transmigration: essay in comparative religious archaeology*, B.E.F.E.O., 1932-34). According to this scholar the entire monument is a close microcosm, its exterior envelopment corresponding to the cosmic *stūpa* while its interior corresponds to a *prāsāda*.

Of other monuments in Java forming the subject of independent study in recent times, we may refer only to the great Śiva temple of the Lara-Jongrang group at Prambanan (Central Java) and the main shrine of the temple-complex at Panataran (Eastern Java). These temples are adorned with a series of reliefs depicting the story of the Rāmāyaṇa from the beginning to the expedition to Laṅkā. A comprehensive account of these reliefs accompanied with adequate illustrations is given by Stutterheim in his German work called *Rāma-legends and Rāma-reliefs in Indonesia* (2 volumes, München, 1925). The author mentions the curious fact that while the earlier (9th century) reliefs at Prambanan are distinctly Indian in character but illustrate a non-Vālmikian version of the Epic, the later (14th century) Panataran series is typically Indonesian in style but is more closely based on Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. A popular and illustrated account based on the above is presented by J. Kats in his Dutch work bearing the title *The Rāmāyaṇa on Javanese temple-reliefs* (Batavia-Leiden, 1925).

The Javanese bronzes which are remarkable for their high artistic quality and unique iconographic interest have engaged the serious attention of scholars in recent times, though it has not been possible as yet to classify their styles. We have already referred to Krom's very valuable *Introduction to the Hindu-Javanese Art* as well as his other

work called *Javanese Art in the Museums of Holland and Java*, both of which contain important notices of Javanese bronzes. The old Javanese bronzes in the Ethnographical collection of the National Museum at Vienna have been described by R. Heine-Geldern (Vienna 1925), while those in the Royal Ethnographic Museum at Leiden have been catalogued by A. C. Tobi (*Archaeological Report*, 1930). The bronzes in the Batavia Museum have been described by Bosch (*Archaeological Report*, 1923). More recently A. J. Bernet Kempers has discussed (*The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese art*, Leiden, 1933) the mutual relation of Pala and Javanese bronzes. His conclusion is that the Hindu-Javanese bronzes in general have not developed from Pala art, but the Pala images have enriched the art of Java with a number of *motifs* and types. In recent times a good synoptic view of this branch of art has been given by R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, Calcutta 1938).

Much attention has been bestowed during recent times upon the origin of the Javanese dance and shadow-play (*Wayang*), those two fine flowers of Javanese culture. In his exhaustive work published simultaneously in Dutch and in French called *The Javanese Art of Dancing*, (or *The Dance in the Javanese Theatre*, 1931), Th. B. van Lelyveld has traced the Javanese dance to a distinctly Indian origin. As for the *Wayang*, its indigenous origin was long ago asserted by Brandes (*T.B.G.*, 1889) and by Hazeu (Leiden, 1897). On the other hand Króm (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, pp. 49ff) has strongly asserted its Indian origin, and his view has been endorsed by R. C. Majumdar (*op. cit.*).

During the last quarter of this century the steady growth of museums and learned societies to which reference was made above has been well maintained. We may refer to the publication of Bosch's Catalogue of the *Sriwedari Museum* at Surakarta (*Archaeological Report*, 1923) and the opening of the *Museum of the Java Institute* at Jogjakarta (1935). The *Batavia Society* which issued in 1929 a commemoration volume (*Feestbundel*) on the occasion of its

150th year (1778-1928) has been regularly publishing its valuable Journal (in Dutch) called *The Journal of Indian Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography* (abbreviated as *T.B.G.*). Since 1933 it has been issuing its *Year-Books* containing detailed notices of its acquisitions under the heads 'Pre-historic', 'Archaeological', 'Historical', 'Mss'. 'Ceramics' and 'Ethnographic' Collections. Other specialised Journals (in Dutch) are *Djāwā*, the Journal of the *Java Institute* at Weltevreden and the *Contributions to the Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of Netherlands-India* abbreviated as *B.K.I.*, which is the organ of *The Royal Colonial Institute* at the Hague.

Within the last twenty years intensive studies have been carried out in the field of Old-Javanese religious beliefs and practices. We have referred above to Krom's great work *Archaeological Description of Barabudur* in course of which the author discusses the pantheon as well as the form of Buddhism at Barabudur. His view is that the Buddhism of Barabudur was a form of Tāntric Mahāyāna based on the Yogācāra. In *T.B.G.*, 1924 Moens has described the last phase of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sumatra and Java and has called particular attention to the Tāntric beliefs and practices of the Javanese king Kṛitanagara and the Sumatran king Ādityavarman in the 13th century. In the same year Pigeaud published a critical edition of a fundamental work on Brahmanism in Java called *Tantu Panggelaran* ('World-Theatre?') It contains cosmogonic and mythological legends, descriptions of *maṇḍalas* (orders of religious ascetics) and *paśhas* (religious sects) and so forth. A large number of Javanese sacred texts, mostly based upon Sanskrit originals and containing Sanskrit verses with Old-Javanese translations, have been analysed by R. Goris in his fundamental work (in Dutch) called *Old-Javanese and Balinese Theology* (1926). Among the texts utilised by Goris may be mentioned the *Sūryasevana*, the *Bhuvanakośa*, the *Bhuvanasaṅkṣpa*, the *Sang Hyang Mahājñāna* and the *Bṛihaspatitattva*. The last work has been proved by A. Ziesenis (Z.D.M.G., XIII, No. 2) to belong to the literature of Āgamas which are

the sources of the *Śaivasiddhānta*. The last-named author has since published in German a valuable paper called *Studies in the history of Śaivism and Śaivistic system in the Old-Javanese literature* (B.K.I., 1939). In the *de luxe* volume called *Mythologie asiatique illustrée* (Paris 1928) H. Marchal contributed a chapter on Indo-Chinese and Javanese mythology, two other important contributions being those of J. Hackin on the *Mythology of Lamaism* and the *Mythology of Buddhism in Central Asia*. The descriptions are accompanied with excellent illustrations. A summary of religious conditions in Java based on Dutch authorities is given by R. C. Majumdar (*op. cit.*). Reference may be made in this connection to F. M. Schnitger's article (in Dutch) called *Some archaeological remarks on Tāntrism in Java* B.K.I., Vol. XC.

Turning to the study of Old-Javanese literature, we have to mention Juynboll's translation of the Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (Cantos VII-XXIII) in B.K.I., in continuation of Kern's translation of the same (Cantos I-VI). A new series called *Bibliotheca Javanica* has been started under the auspices of the venerable *Royal Batavia Society* for the publication of Old-Javanese and Middle-Javanese texts with their translations. Among works so far published in the series are the *Tantri Kāmandaka* (ed. G. Hooykas), the *Smaradahana* (ed. L. Poerbatjaraka), the *Nitiśāstra* (ed. Poerbatjaraka), the Old-Javanese *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa* (ed. J. Gonda) and the Old-Javanese *Bhīṣmaparvan* (ed. Gonda). The first consists of three mediaeval Javanese versions of stories and fables with parallel Siamese and Laotian versions, which bear the closest affinity to the Kanarese version of the *Pañcatantra* by Durgasimha, the second tells the story immortalised by Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhavam* about Kāma's being burnt to ashes by the wrath of Śiva, the third is a collection of wise sayings, moral precepts and so forth of the *Chāṇakyanīti* class, the fourth is the most important Javanese work of the *Purāṇa* class. Another work of the last-named category, the *Agastyaparva*, has been edited by Gonda *J.B. K. I.*,

1933). The Old-Javanese prose works of the *Mahābhārata* class that have recently been published include the *Koravāsrama* (ed. J. L. Swellengrebel) and the *Navaruchi* (ed. M. Prijohoetomo). In his paper *Hindu Literature in Java* (*I.A.L.*, VI, 1932) C. C. Berg distinguished between three periods of this literature as also between its two court literatures and its popular religious literature. The study of this literature, however, according to the same scholar has to remain provisional at present, because of the paucity of critical editions of texts and of works on grammar and lexicography. A comprehensive account of Old-Javanese and Balinese literature in all its branches with special reference to its Indian affinities has been presented by Himansu Bhusan Sarkar in his work *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali* (Greater India Society's Publication, Calcutta 1934). More recently R. C. Majumdar has given a good summary of the whole subject based on the Dutch authorities in his *Suvarṇadvīpa*, (Part II).

The last quarter of this century has been very prolific in discussions of problems relating to the history and culture of Java. To take a few examples, the place of the sage Agastya in Javanese culture-history has been discussed by O. C. Gangoly (*The cult of Agastya and the origin of Indian colonial art*, Rūpam, 1926), L. Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya in den Archipel*, Leiden, 1926), K.A.N. Sastri (*T.B.G.* 1936). The history and topography of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭāha has been discussed by Ir. J. L. Moens (*T.B.G.* 1937), K.A.N. Sastri (*J.G.I.S.*, 1938; *B.E.F.E.O.* 1940). Of more general character is the *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava rule as evidenced by inscriptions* of B. Ch. Chhabra (*J.A.S.B. Letters*, vol. I, 1935). Of outstanding importance is the standard work of N. J. Krom called *Hindu-Javanese History* (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1st edition 1926, 2nd edition 1931). Based on an exhaustive study of all the available data, it traces the history of Java from the earliest times to the ultimate triumph of Islam in the early sixteenth century. Accompanying the author's notices of political history are illuminating studies on the

art and literature of the island during the successive centuries. This fundamental work has been utilised by R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I), but the author has also sought to throw new light upon the numerous unsolved problems of Javanese history and culture. A bird's-eye view of India's cultural and other contacts with the Pacific lands (extending from Java, Sumatra and Indo-China to China, Japan, Hawaii and New Zealand) during Hindu times as also in the Prehistoric Age and in recent years is presented by Kalidas Nag in his well-documented work *India and the Pacific World*, (Calcutta, 1941).

BALI

The small island of Bali lying immediately east of Java enjoys, as is well known, the unique distinction of maintaining its Hindu culture down to modern times. But unfortunately the materials are lacking for a connected account of its history, art and literature. The plausible identification by Pelliot (*B.E.F.E.O.*, 1904) of the island of P'oli mentioned by the Chinese authorities of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. with Bali had the result of throwing some light upon the obscure history of the island during those centuries. From these accounts we learn that kings bearing the family name of Kauṇḍinya and belonging to the Kṣatriya caste ruled the country in those early times and that the Mūlasarvāstivāda Nikāya was almost universally prevalent there. In recent times the systematic search for antiquities has yielded a number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions in Sanskrit, Old-Balinese and Old-Javanese dating from the 8th century onwards. Transcripts of these inscriptions have been published by P. van Stein Callenfels in the *Epigraphia Balica* I (1926) and by Stutterheim in his Dutch work called *The Antiquities of Bali* (1929), while other inscriptions have been published by R. Goris (*Archaeological Report*, 1929). These records have disclosed the existence of a line of independent kings of the 10th century bearing Hindu names, viz. Ugrasena, Janasādhuvarmmadeva, Keśarivarma and so forth. In 1926 a

Dutch architect P.A.J. Moojen published an ambitious work called the *Art of Bali. Introductory studies on the Architecture*, which claimed to discuss the history and general characteristics of Balinese art, its religious and sociological basis, the rules and traditions of its building construction and so forth. The history, palaeography, topography, religion and art of Bali were discussed along with its inscriptions by Stutterheim in the work *The Antiquities of Bali* above mentioned. The art of Bali was also discussed by the same scholar in his *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art* (India Society, London 1935) which traces the history of religion and antiquities of the island from early times down to the 14th century A.D. Distinguishing four successive periods of Balinese art, the author says that the art of the early period (8th-10th centuries) was dominated by Indian traditions, while during the Early and the Middle Indo-Balinese periods (11th-12th & 13th-14th centuries) the Indian tradition was gradually modified by local as well as the imported Javanese elements. The Modern period dating from the 15th century does not call here for any special comment.

In his work *Sanskrit texts from Bali* (G.O.S., LXVII, Baroda, 1933) Sylvain Lévi has classified the Balinese works collected by him in 1928 under four heads (1) *Chaturveda*, (2) *Stotras*, (3) *Buddhaveda* (4) *Kāraṣaṃgraha*, *Charitra Rāmāyaṇa*, *Naiṣṭhikajñāna*, *Daśaśīla* and the exercises in translation from Sanskrit into Balinese. The first really consists of the three first sections of the *Nārāyaṇa Atharvaśiras-Upaniṣad*, the second consists of 39 short pieces, the third dealing with the daily ritual of a Buddhist priest consists of fragments of Tantras.

The history and culture of Bali have been investigated by Krom in his *Hindu-Javanese History*, already mentioned, and more recently by R. C. Majumdar in his *Sutarnadvīpa* Parts I & II.

BORNEO AND CELEBES

The large island of Borneo called Tañjungpura and Bakulapura in the mediaeval Javanese records was colonised

by Hindu settlers as early as the 4th century A.D. The oldest Sanskrit inscriptions of the island belonging to that period, viz. the *Yūpa* inscriptions of king Mūlavarman, were discovered as far back as 1879 and being first published by Kern, were afterwards (1918) re-edited by Vogel. These records refer themselves to a line of Hindu (or Hinduised) kings ruling in East Borneo, of whom the last namely Mūlavarman performed the Bahusuvarṇaka sacrifice attended with splended gifts to Brāhmans. Inscriptions with Buddhist formulas have since been found in West Borneo and these have been edited by B. Ch. Chhabra (*J.A.S.B., Letters*, 1935). An important expedition sent to Central and East Borneo in 1925 resulted in the discovery of a remarkable group of Brahmanical and Buddhist images concealed in a cave. Among these were stone images of Mahādeva, Nandī, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. The Buddhist images were of a peculiar iconographic type. These precious sculptures along with some related images in the Batavia Museum were published by Bosch in the *Archaeological Report* (1925) and in the official report of the expedition (1927). Judging from the style of the images, Bosch held that they could be attributed neither to Indian nor Indo-Javanese colonists, but were probably the work of Indo-Javanese settlers long out of touch with the home-land or else of Hinduised Dyaks. Another important group of Hindu relics from Borneo has been discussed (*J.G.I.S.*, III, 1936) by O. C. Gangoly, who concludes that the question whether Borneo derived its Hindu culture directly from India or indirectly from Java must remain open. Recently R. C. Majumdar (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II) has suggested from a fresh examination of the Hindu images on the East coast of Borneo that the Hindu colonists developed an independent art somewhat influenced by Indo-Javanese traditions.

Passing from Borneo to the neighbouring island of Celebes we have to mention the large-sized bronze Buddha which was found there and is now preserved in the *Batavia Museum*. Judging from schematic folds of its drapery,

Bosch has concluded (*T.B.G.*, 1933) that it was imported directly from Amarāvati.

The fragmentary records of Hindu culture in Borneo and Celebes have been pieced together by R. C. Majumdar in his work above mentioned (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Parts I & II).

SUMATRA

By far the most important contribution that has been made in recent times to the general history of Sumatra and adjoining lands is the brilliant reconstruction of the rise and fall of the Hindu kingdom of Śrīvijaya by the French scholar Coedès in 1918. In his epoch-making paper (in French) with the title *The Kingdom of Śrīvijaya* (*B.E.F.E.O.* XVIII) he traced with the help of the surviving archaeological remains and the scattered Chinese, Arab and South Indian references the fortunes of this kingdom from the latter part of the 7th to the 13th century. From the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing it was already known that Śrīvijaya was the chief emporium of trade between China and India and was the centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Seas. Coedès's new hypothesis that Śrīvijaya city which he identified with Palembang was also the nucleus of the great Śailendra dynasty that ruled Malayasia for more than two centuries was developed by Krom and Vogel in their respective papers (in Dutch) bearing the titles *The Sumatran period of Javanese history* (Leiden, 1919) and *The kingdom of Śrīvijaya* (*B.K.I.*, 1919) respectively. In these papers was emphasised the enormous influence exercised by Śrīvijaya kings in introducing Mahāyāna Buddhism into Java and in building the splendid monuments of Barabudur, Chaṇḍi Kalasan and the like. These results were incorporated by Ferrand in his connected account (in French) called *The Sumatran Empire of Śrīvijaya* (*J.A.* 1922) tracing the history of Śrīvijaya (or Śailendra) Empire from the earliest times to the 12th century A.D. and later. The history of Sumatra was treated on similar lines by Krom in his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* already mentioned. In 1927 Coedès published a French article on the

Fall of the Śrīvijaya Kingdom (B.K.I., Vol. 83), tracing its decline from about 1178 A.D. In B.E.F.E.O., 1930 the same scholar wrote (in French) a paper called *The Malay Inscriptions of Śrīvijaya*, where, while re-editing the four oldest inscriptions of this kingdom, he took the inscription of 683 A.D. to mean that Vajrayāna Buddhism already known to have prevailed in Bengal towards the middle of the 7th century was established in Sumatra towards the close of that century. The brilliant hypothesis of Coëdès to which reference has been made above has met with a considerable amount of criticism in later times. In his paper *A Javanese period in Sumatran history* (Surakarta 1929) Stutterheim sought completely to reverse Coëdès's position by asserting that the Sailendras originally belonged to Java and afterwards conquered Śrīvijaya. Recently R. C. Majumdar (B.E.F.E.O., 1933; J.G.I.S., 1934; *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, Bk. 2, App.) has given good grounds for doubting on the one hand the identity of Śrīvijaya with the kingdom of the Sailendras and the Zabag and San-fo-tsi kingdoms of the Arab and Chinese writers and on the other hand for identifying the last three as synonymous terms and placing them in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. Majumdar's view was substantially accepted by Coëdès (J.G.I.S., 1934). In another respect Coëdès's view has been modified by later research. Referring to the old Malay inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, Vallée Poussin has shown the slight part played therein by Tāntrism and has rehabilitated the evidence of I-tsing about the predominance of the Sarvāstivāda school in the Archipelago.

Sumatra is very poor in archaeological remains so much so that a connected history of its architecture and sculpture cannot be written. Nevertheless important finds of Buddhist sculptures in stone and metal along with other antiquities were made at Palembang after 1920. The Indian affinities of these sculptures were discussed by Bosch (*Archaeological Report*, 1930) and Krom (*A.B.I.A.* 1931) as well as by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (J.G.I.S., III), R. C. Majumdar (J.I.S.O.A.; Vol. I, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, pp.

322-326 and D. P. Ghosh (*J.G.I.S.*, Vols. I & II). The first systematic excavations were carried out in Sumatra on a number of ancient sites by F. M. Schnitger in 1935 and 1936. The results were recorded by him in a series of well-illustrated monographs (in Dutch) called *Archaeological Finds in Padang Lawas (Central Tapanuli)*, *Hindu Antiquities of Batang Hari* and *Archaeological Finds in Palembang* (Leiden 1936). A detailed account of his discoveries in Central, Southern and Western Sumatra with a large number of illustrations was given by the same author in his work *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, (Leiden 1937). This work discloses a wealth of antiquities viz., terracottas, stone and bronze sculptures of superb workmanship representing Śiva and Viṣṇu as well as Buddha, Lokeśvara and Maitreya besides architectural remains of *stūpas* and so forth. The sculptures have been held to belong to Amarāvati, Gupta and Pala styles. Reference is also made to the evidences of Bhairava cult in vogue in the country in the late Hindu times. Some of Schintger's iconographical identifications have since been corrected by J. N. Banerjee in *J.G.I.S.*, (IV, 1937). Quite recently Krom has brought forward in a Dutch paper called *The Sanctuaries of Palembang (Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Deel I, No. 7)* evidence to prove that Palembang was identical with Old Malayu and that the Buddhist sanctuary on its western side reflected the South Indian style, while the Siddhāyātra sanctuary on its eastern side which was Indonesian at first was Hinduised after the 7th century.

MALAY PENINSULA.

The first detailed and authentic account of the Malay Peninsula, the Malayadvīpa and the Kaṭāhadvīpa of the Purāṇas, is given by Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D., evidently in the light of the accurate knowledge acquired at that time by the Indians. In the mediaeval period Malay was sometimes included in great empires like those of Śrīvijaya and the Śailendras as well as the Indo-Javanese empire of Majapahit. At other times it was split up into a number of

insignificant kingdoms. But no connected account of the peninsula is traceable from the scanty records. The survival of Hindu rule in different parts of the peninsula (Pahang or Indrapura, Kelantan and Malacca) may be traced to the second decade of the 15th century which ushered in the advent of Islam.

It was nearly a century ago that Lt. Col. James Low carried out some unsystematic excavations in the north-west part of British Malay forming Province Wellesley and the Kedah State. He discovered a set of twelve Sanskrit inscriptions which were published by J. W. Laidlay (*J.A.S.B.*, 1848-1849) in a very imperfect fashion. These inscriptions have since been edited by competent scholars like Kern (*I.G.*, III) and B. Ch. Chhabra (*J.A.S.B.*, *Letters*, 1935). They prove that colonists from Northern and Southern India were settled on the west coast of Malay by the 4th or 5th centuries A.D. and that they followed the Buddhist religion. Four of these inscriptions refer to a great sailor Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamittikā (identified with Rāṅgāmāṭi in modern Murshidabad district of Bengal). Another group of Sanskrit inscriptions of the same early period discovered at Ligor, Takuapa and Caiya in North Malay was published with facsimile in the *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine* (1910), but they still remain un-edited. The opening up of the States of Kedah and Perak to rubber plantation and tin mining in quite recent times has brought to light a number of antiquities which were described by Ivor H. N. Evans Ethnographer to the Perak Museum (*Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, Cambridge 1927). They show that the Kedah region was occupied by Indian colonists professing Śaivism as well as Buddhism during the 4th-5th centuries A.D. According to the same evidence an Indian colony was settled at Perak by the 5th century A.D. Among the objects discovered by Evans was a seal from Perak with the legend *Śrī Viṣṇuvarmaṇah* written in incorrect Sanskrit in Pallava Grantha characters [For discussion of this seal, see B. Ch. Chhabra, *J.G.I.S.*, II, 1935 giving full

references]. Unfortunately no law was passed for the protection of ancient monuments, as had been done in India and Indonesia. "Hence sites of the utmost importance must have been destroyed by mining operations in Perak, while in Kedah many promising mounds were demolished to provide road material or merely levelled down as being useless obstructions" (Quaritch Wales, *A.B.I.A.*, 1937, p. 38). However that may be, chance finds have been made recently from the tin mines at Perak, of three bronze Avalokiteśvara images in addition to those brought to light by Evans [For a description of the whole group with full references and some illustrations, see H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian colonization in J.R.A.S., M.B.*, XVIII, Part I, February 1940.] The first systematic archaeological exploration of British Malay was undertaken by H. G. Quaritch Wales under the auspices of the Greater India Research Committee in London and with the generous support of the Malay States concerned. Following closely upon his first two archaeological expeditions to Siamese territory (to which reference has been made above), Wales led his third expedition (1937-39) into the Malay States of Kedah, Perak and Johore. The valuable results of this expedition were published in a special number (Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, 1940) of the *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Among the objects brought to light by the explorer may be mentioned basements of *stūpas* containing Sanskrit inscriptions in South Indian characters of the 4th-6th centuries mentioning the Buddhist creed and Mahāyāna Buddhist verses, the remains of Brahmanical temples of the 7th-8th centuries with fragments of Śivite images, and lastly, gold and silver discs with names of Rodhisattvas inscribed in Sanskrit in South Indian characters of the 9th century. Deriving his historical conclusions from the above data, the author postulated four successive waves of Hindu colonisation from the 1st century to c. 900 A.D. Again, while finding further support for his view that the Śailendra empire had its head-quarters in the Malay Peninsula, he was led to locate Kadāram, the capital

of the Śailendras, in the Kinta valley in Perak, in modification of his previous hypothesis (strongly criticised by Coedès, *J.R.A.S.M.B.*, XIV, 1936), identifying the same with Caiya and Ligor. He also attempted the reconstruction of the later history of Kedah (from the close of the 13th century to the conversion to Islam in 1474 A.D.) by means of a critical analysis of the Kedah Annals. One of the kings mentioned in these Annals, Raja Bersiong, according to him, was not only a historical personage but was addicted to the Bhairava cult of which the popularity is proved by the famous Bhairava statue representing the Sumatran King Āḍityavarman in the 13th century.

As regards general history of the Malay Peninsula, the invaluable Chinese texts referring to the kingdoms of the Southern Seas in the early centuries of the Christian era have been studied and discussed by a number of scholars such as Groeneveldt, Schlegel, Pelliot and Ferrand ever since the seventh decade of the last century. But unfortunately the identifications of most of these kingdoms still remain matters of dispute. Provisionally, however, we may take these accounts to mean that a certain number of Hindu kingdoms existed in Malay in the 5th-6th centuries. Such are "Lang-yu-su" (Isthmus of Kra or of Ligor) "where the precious Sanskrit was generally known," Kan-to-li (Kadāra?) where Buddhism was held in the highest veneration and Karmaranga or Charmaranga (Ligor) mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and other Indian works. Regarding the later history of Malay we have already referred to the brilliant paper of Coedès on *The Kingdom of Śrīvijaya* (*B.E.F. E.O.*, 1918) pointing to a great Sumatran empire having its capital at Palembang and including within its limits Malay and Java in the late 8th century. We have also noticed that R. C. Majumdar has on good grounds called in question Coedès's identification of the Śrīvijaya kingdom with the Śailendra empire and placed the seat of the latter in North Malay. In this connection Majumdar stated that the Śailendras were probably immigrants from Kalinga who spread their sway over the Far East by way of Lower Burma

and Malay. On the other hand Coëdès (*J.G.I.S.*, I, 1934) has suggested that the Śailendras were originally related to the kings of Fu-nan and after their expulsion from Indo-China resumed the old dynastic title and reasserted the old political and territorial claims. Other views have been put forward by Przyluski (*J.G.I.S.*, I) and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*T.B.G.*, LXXV). As for the last phase of Hindu rule in Malay, not to speak of the Chinese texts studied and discussed by Groeneveldt and Schlegel, we may mention the indigenous traditions collected from the Malay chronicles and the early Portuguese accounts by Ferrand (*J.A.*, 1918). In *J.R.A.S.M.B.*, 1935, R. O. Winstedt published a connected history of Malay from the earliest times to the 19th century. It contains a chapter on the Hindu period based on the researches of Coëdès and Krom. Recently R. C. Majumdar has given (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Parts I & II) a complete account of the history and culture of Malay from the earliest times to the end of Hindu rule in the peninsula. Based on the researches of previous scholars, it attempts the solution of many of the unsolved problems of Ancient Malayan history.

CEYLON

The island of Ceylon, the Siḥaladvīpa of the Pāli Chronicles, was converted to Buddhism by Asoka's missionaries during the reign of its King Devānāmpiya Tissa. Under this pious king and his equally pious successors like Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, (101-77 B.C.) Watṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (c. 100-76 B.C.) and Mahāsena (277-304 A.D.), Anurādhapura, the Ceylonese capital and a "veritable Buddhist Rome," was adorned with magnificent structures like the Thupārāma *dāgaba*, the Jetavana *vihāra* (which is the largest of its kind even in Ceylon and stands on a stone platform nearly 8 acres in extent), and the Lohapāsāda or the "Brazen Tower" (originally constructed as a monastery of nine stories of which the still existing foundations comprise 1600 monoliths 12' high and extend over an area of 250 square miles). Taken and plundered by the Pāṇḍyas, Anurādhapura was abandoned for Polonnaruwa (otherwise called Kalīṅgapura

or Pulastipura) which remained the Ceylonese capital from the 9th to the middle of the 13th century. Among its splendid monuments are the Thupārāma, the "Northern" temple adorned with frescoes and the Jetavana monastery with Laṅkātilaka "the largest Buddhist temple in Ceylon," all of which are attributed to the greatest of the Sinhalese kings, Parakkamabāhu I (1164-97 A.D.).

The beginnings of the scientific study of Sinhalese archaeology can be traced back to the seventies of the last century, when the first Archaeological Commissioner was appointed in the person of P. Goldschmid who has been called "the founder of Ceylonese epigraphy." To the same period goes back the foundation of the Colombo Museum through the enlightened efforts of Sir William Gregory, Governor of Ceylon (1872-77 A.D.). At the same time T. W. Rhys Davids published the first connected account of Sinhalese coinage (*Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 1877). To Edward Müller, Goldschmid's successor as Archaeological Commissioner, belongs the credit of issuing the first corpus of Sinhalese inscriptions (*Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon collected and published for Government by Dr. Edward Müller*, 2 vols., London 1883). To this period also belongs the foundation (1882) by T. W. Rhys Davids of the renowned *Pāli Text Society*, which has since earned the gratitude of all lovers of Indian culture by its magnificent series of publications of Pāli canonical as well as non-canonical texts with a large number of translations. What high regard was entertained towards these texts by the promoters of the Society will best appear from the following extract quoted from their prospectus:—"For the period c. 400-250 B.C. they have preserved for us a record quite uncontaminated by filtrations through any European mind of the everyday beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves, just as they were passing through the first stage of civilisation. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves and which has influenced so powerfully and for so long a time so large a portion of the

human race — the system of religion which we now called Buddhism." In the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the present, important steps were taken towards the advance of Sinhalese archaeological studies. The *Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* commenced the issue of its *Journal* from the close of the last century. A valuable set of drawings of archaeological remains in Anurādhapura prepared by J. G. Smither as far back as 1877 was published by order of the Government of Ceylon in 1894. The *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* was founded in 1890, and H. C. P. Bell distinguished his long term of office (1890-1912) as Archaeological Commissioner by practically exhuming the dead city of Anurādhapura, by clearing and restoring the fortress-city of Sigiriya and by excavating the main group of buildings of Parakkamabāhu's palace at Polonnaruwa. Among the notable buildings described and illustrated by him in his valuable series of *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* may be mentioned the Śiva shrine at Polonnaruwa built in the 11th or 12th century, as well as the circular shrine and the seven-storied tower built at the same city by King Nissanka Malla in the 12th century. The second of these structures was described by him as 'the most beautiful specimen of Buddhist stone architecture existing in Ceylon.' Meanwhile Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe appointed Epigraphist to the Ceylonese Government in 1899, published the first volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (1904-1912) containing the texts and translations of a large number of new inscriptions. In the following years Vol. II, 1912-28 and Vol. III, Part I, (1928) of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* were published by the same scholar. In the former volume is included a valuable *Chronological Table of Ceylon Kings* from Vijaya (483-445 B.C.) down to Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha (1798-1815 A.C.). In 1909 H. Parker, who had served for thirty-one years in the Irrigation Department of Ceylon, published his important work *Ancient Ceylon* giving minute accounts of the lost cities of Ceylon as well as the ancient *dāgabas*, inscriptions and coins and the earliest irrigation-works. The interpreta-

tion of Sinhalese art was furthered by the valuable writings of A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art* (London 1908), *Mahāyānist Buddhist images from Ceylon and Java* (J.R.A.S., 1909), *Bronzes of Ceylon* (*Memoirs of the Colombo Museum*, Vol. I, Colombo 1914). To the same scholar belongs the credit of identifying (*Spolia Zeylanica*, VI, 1909) the wonderful seated figure of the Isurumuniya Vihāra at Anurādhapura with the sage Kapila well-known to Indian legend as the consumer of King Sagara's sons.

During the last twenty years the study of Sinhalese art and archaeology has made steady progress. In the third decade of this century A. M. Hocart as Archaeological Commissioner published the results of his archaeological exploration and research in successive *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*. He also edited three volumes of *Memoirs of this Survey* of which the first (Colombo 1924) dealt with the monuments of Anurādhapura, the second (Colombo 1926) principally with those of Polonnaruwa and the third (London 1931) with the temple of the Tooth in Kandy. As editor of the *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G. Archaeology, Ethnology, etc.*, (Vol. I, 1924-28, Vol. II, 1928-33) he published numerous notes on the art and archaeology, not only of Ceylon but also of India proper. Of special interest are his attempts to trace the obscure history of Sinhalese sculpture and architecture according to types and to estimate the extent of Indian influence upon the same. For the recent advance in Sinhalese archaeology the credit is mostly due to S. Paranavitana, Epigraphic Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner. In 1934 and 1935 he excavated the remains of a *stūpa* (which he identified as the Kaṇṭaka Chetiya of ante 1st century B.C.) at Mihintale. It ranks among the earliest *stūpas* in the island, and its sculptures are counted among the earliest remains of Sinhalese plastic art. Its well preserved basement had four projections at the cardinal points reminiscent of the type of the Andhra monuments of the Kṛṣṇā valley, which were adorned with fine friezes of Hainasas and Gaṇas and were flanked by sculptured stelae surmounted by figures of

elephants, lions, bulls and horses. (See Paranavitana, *Excavation of the Kaṇṭaka Chetiya at Mihintale*, A.B.I.A., 1934). A detailed account of the archaeological excavations carried out at Anurādhapura during the years 1928-29 and 1932-33 was given by the same scholar in his monograph *The Excavations in the Citadel of Anurādhapura* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. IV, Colombo 1936). Among the buildings exposed during these excavations was a unique structure of the 8th century A.D. having a square plan and a projection from the middle of each face, of which the prototype has since been sought (S. K. Saraswati in J.G.I.S., IV) in East Indian temples. To the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sec. G, Vol. II, Paranavitana contributed a valuable *Archaeological Summary* showing that the earliest stūpas of Ceylon followed the Indian model consisting of the *harmmīkā* and above it an umbrella or series of umbrellas in stone supported by stone posts, but that about the fifth century A.D. there was developed the cylindrical structure above the *harmmīkā* and above that again the tapering spire which was nothing but the old *chhatrāvali* with the space between the umbrellas filled with brick-work. To the same Journal he contributed a valuable paper on *Mahāyānism in Ceylon* proving from archaeological and literary evidence the prevalence (from the 3rd to the 15th centuries) of various forms of Mahāyāna (including the Tāntrik Vajrayāna) and tracing the survival of Mahāyāna in Ceylonese Buddhism at the present day. As editor of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, Pts. 2-6 (1929-33) onwards Paranavitana has published numerous inscriptions ranging from the pre-Christian to late mediaeval times. Among these are a large number of 'cave-inscriptions' written in Indian Prakrit and in Brāhmī script mentioning the names of donors of caves to the Buddhist saṃgha (See Paranavitana, *Brāhmī inscriptions recently discovered in Ceylon*, A.B.I.A., 1934 and *Epigraphical discoveries in Ceylon during the year 1935*, A.B.I.A., 1935). Some of these donors have been identified with the Ceylonese kings of the 1st century before and after Christ mentioned in the chronicles. A set of 91

Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on copper-plaques and containing fragments of the *Pañchavimśatisāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā* was brought to light by the same scholar from the ruins of a *stūpa* (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol.III). Another scholar who deserves mention in this connection is H. W. Codrington. Besides contributing important papers on the archaeology of Ceylon, he published a comprehensive account of Sinhalese coinage from the earliest to the recent times in his standard work called *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, (Colombo 1924).

As regards the branch of Ceylonese art, A. K. Coomaraswamy in his comprehensive work, *History of Indian and Indonsian Art* (London, 1927), traced for the first time in broad outline the development of Sinhalese art through the 'classical' (*ante* 8th century), the 'mediaeval' (9th-14th centuries) and the 'late mediaeval' (15th century-1815 A.D.) periods. In Vincent A. Smith's work *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, (2nd edition, Oxford, 1930) the main types of Sinhalese architecture and sculpture have been sought to be distinguished and interesting comparisons have been made with the Indian types. In his paper (in French) called *Pala and Sena Art in Outer India (Études d'Orientalisme Linossier*, pp. 277-285). Réne Grousset has traced the influence of Pala and Sena art upon the sculptures of Ceylon. A number of art objects—bas-reliefs, sculptures in the round and architectural fragments—found at Anurādhapura, Polonnaruwa, Sigiriya and other sites during recent times have been proved by S. Paranavitana (*Examples of Andhra Art recently found in Ceylon, A.B.I.A.*, 1936) to be products of the Andhra schools of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā.

Lastly, as regards the general history of Ceylon and the history of Ceylonese culture, we may begin by mentioning H. W. Codrington's work *A Short History of Ceylon*, (London 1926) which traces the history of the island from the earliest times to 1833 A.D. It has a prefatory note on the chronology of Ceylon and a list of its sovereigns and it concludes with a chapter on archaeology from the pen of A. M.

Hocart. More recently G. C. Mendis has published *The Early History of Ceylon* (4th ed. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta, 1940) giving within a short compass the political as well as cultural history of the island from the earliest times to the close of the 15th century. Coming to another point, we may mention that the relations of the Imperial Cholas with Ceylon have been fully studied by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*The Cholas*, Vol. I, Madras, 1935) in the light of Tamil as well as Sinhalese documents. The old Sinhalese revenue system has been described by H. W. Codrington in his work *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon* (Colombo 1938). Above all, W. Geiger in a series of papers called *Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our knowledge of the mediaeval culture of Ceylon* (J.G.I.S., vol. II, No. 2; vol. III, No. 2; vol. IV, No. 2; vol. V, Nos. 1-2, July 1935-July 1938) has utilised the important data from the great Sinhalese Chronicle to illustrate fully the nature of kingship, administration and social life in the island down to mediaeval times.*

ADDITIONS

Page 70 line 34:—Add. In B.S.O.S. VIII, Pt. I 1935, H. W. Bailey and E. H. Johnston have jointly edited a fragment of the Sanskrit *Uttaratantra* (one of the fundamental books of Northern Buddhism which is ascribed to

* In the above review the chapters relating to China, Japan and Korea have been left out for considerations of space. It is proposed to fill up this gap in a separate paper in the near future. The present paper is expected to be published in the Jubilee number of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, as it was originally undertaken at the request of Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the Honorary Secretary of the Institute. For kind permission to reproduce it simultaneously in the JGIS, the Managing Committee of the Greater India Society expresses its grateful thanks to the authorities of the Institute. The Society takes this opportunity to thank its sister institution for the hospitality extended to its then Honorary Secretary, Dr. Kalidas Nag, who had the privilege of delivering an illustrated lecture on Greater India at the premises of the Institute in 1929 with H. E. the Governor of Bombay in the chair.

Maitreya) with Khotanese Śaka annotations from the Stein Collection of Mss. at the India Office.

Page 71 line 31 :—Add—In B.S.O.S. VIII, Pts. II-III (1936), T. Burrow has compared the dialect of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya (representating the administrative language of the Shan-shan kingdom in the 3rd century A.D.) with those of the Kharoṣṭhī versions of Aśoka's 14 Rock Edicts, the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of North-Western India, the Kharoṣṭhī Ms. of the *Dhammapada* and a Kharoṣṭhī Ms. from Endere (representing the language of Khotan) He concludes by pointing out that of all the modern Dardic languages, Torwali bears the closest resemblance to the Niya Prakrit. In the same Journal (*loc. cit.*) Sten Konow has sought to trace parallels between the language of the Kharoṣṭhī *Dhammapada* and of the Kharoṣṭhī documents of the Stein Collection on the one hand and the modern Dardic languages on the other. Valuable studies in the language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Chinese Turkestan have also been made by T. Burrow (*Toḥarian elements in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Chinese Turkestan*, J.R.A.S. 1935) and H. Lüders (*Zur Schrift und Sprache der Kharoṣṭhī-dokumente*, B.S.O.S. VIII, Pts. 2-3).

Page 76, line 37 :—Add. The *Ālambanaparīkṣū* of Dinnāga has since been edited in its restored Sanskrit form with an accompanying English translation and notes and copious extracts from Dharmapāla's commentary by M. Aiyaswami Sastri (The Adyar Library, Madras, 1942).

Page 77, line 25 : Add—Some valuable hints for the collection of materials for a Tibetan bibliography are given by Andrew Vostrikov in his paper. *Some Corrections and critical remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet* (B.S.O.S. VIII, Pt. I, 1935).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Law of War and Peace in Islam:—a study in Muslim International Law—by Majid Khadduri, Ph.D., Teachers' College, Baghdad. (Luzac & Co. London 1941).

The author confines his attention to the survey of external relations of the Arab Muslims with neighbouring peoples during the first four centuries of the Islamic era, but leaves out of account the Muslims of Spain and the most interesting episodes of the conflict between Islam and Christianity, between the East and the West, during the Crusades. Thus we get a somewhat bald and dry description of the early Islamic State which had very little time to bother about Laws in an age when their violation was more of a rule than an exception. The major part of the book is devoted to the discussion of the Law of War in Islam, already discussed by Mon. Clement Huart (*Le Droit de la Guerre: Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1907). In a section on The Law of Peace the author attempts to demonstrate that the Islamic conquerors were about to develop some conventions with regard to Treaty, Arbitration, Status etc. in relation to the non-Muslim peoples. But he admits that "in its origin Muslim international law was only a temporary institution untill the whole World should be Islamic. If the mission of Islam, therefore, were wholly carried out, the *raison d'être* of a Muslim International Law would be non-existent." With such a psychology and historical background it would be difficult to expect a phenomenal growth of international law properly so called. But we know that early Islam under the Caliphs developed, through war and conquest, extensive international relations which should be surveyed historically if not legally, against the hoary traditions of the Persian and the Eastern Roman Empires. The author could not undertake such a comparative study and has given us instead an interesting but restricted survey of the foreign relations of the Eastern Caliphate. He has given

an excellent bibliography of the early Arabic sources together with a list of secondary works and articles and monographs in French, German, Italian and English. He refers to the rule of "Diplomatic immunity" (corresponding to our ancient Indian *dūta* as inviolable *abadhya*) going back as early as the days of the Prophet Muhammad; but we should expect many such tribal laws or customs going even to early pre-Islamic days which have not been explored by the author.

Kalidas Nag

East and West:—by Rene Guénon. Translated by William Massey. (Luzac & Co., London 1941). Rs. 3|-.

The title of the book is banal, but its contents as well as the personality of the author is a direct challenge to the Western World. Mon. Guénon joined issues not only with the orthodox Philosophers of France but with the professional European "Orientalists," when he published about 20 years ago, his *L'Homme et son devenir selon le Vedānta*." He has published since then, *The Crisis of the Modern World, Introduction to the Study of Hindu Doctrines* and many other books. But the most challenging work of his, we think, would be his *East and West* which we recommend to all serious students of philosophy and culture-history. Over a century ago Hegel characterized things "Oriental" as *per se* grotesque, disproportionate and unbalanced as compared with the "classical" norm. Now the table is turned on the occidentalists by Mon. Guénon who boldly demonstrates that western civilisation and progress are not necessary concomitants, that like many other superstitions the westerners are still dominated by the superstitions of Science and Life. He exposes the "imaginary terrors and the real dangers" of modern existence and exhorts us to rediscover the eternal traditions of the East without which modern man could not hope to rise above occidental "sentimentality" of thought, into the region of changeless endless Truth. His "Orient" is not merely geographical, but metaphysical; and he tries

to inculcate upon us the efficacy of organizing the *Elects* in spirit, however small in number, so that those seers may save benighted mankind from complete disaster, born of Greed and Illusion. East alone seems to have preserved a continuity of that glorious Tradition of serving Humanity silently like the *R̥sis* of our Indian *Tapovana* hermitages. The true and abiding *rapprochement* between the East and the West cannot result from a crude Theosophical type of "fusion," but from real understanding of the fundamental unity of being which was the greatest discovery of Vedantic India. The book will shock many, but may cure also like a galvanic battery of spirit.

Kalidas Nag

The Ramayana Polity:—by Miss P. C. Dharma, M.A., D.Litt. With Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Madras, 1941. Pp. ix + 102.

In this short monograph which won for the authoress the Doctorate degree of the Madras University, she claims to have worked up the hitherto neglected data in the *Rāmāyaṇa* into a description of "the polity that existed during the period subsequent to the Vedic and preceding the *Bhārata* period." We may at once concede that the authoress has honestly striven to deal with almost all the aspects of the polity falling within her cognizance. This will sufficiently appear from the titles of her chapters, *viz.*, *General Introduction, System of Government, The Central Administration, The Ministry, Permanent Higher Officials, Revenue Administration, Administration of Law and Justice, Local Administration and Military Organization*. To the credit of the authoress it must also be said that she has spared no pains in collecting materials from her single source-book and has tried to explain their place in the general scheme of evolution of the Hindu Polity. Nevertheless, we have regretfully to admit our inability to accept much of her interpretation of her source-book as well as of the data collected therefrom. To begin with the chrono-

logical setting and significance of the Rāmāyaṇa, she accepts the exploded theory of an "Epic Age" (which she further subdivides into the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata periods) intervening between the Vedic and the Buddhistic periods: the Rāmāyaṇa is in her opinion "a biographical sketch" (*sic*) of Rāma (p. 1) and is a unique contemporary work (p. 2) dating most probably from "the 6th to the 8th century B.C." (*sic*) (p. 5). Against this alleged extreme antiquity of Vālmiki's Epic, it is enough to refer to its metre and diction as well as its historical references to Śakas and Yavanas (I.55).

Turning to the contents of the present work, we must say that while the structure of this polity has been sufficiently dealt with, its functions have not received their full measure of attention. What is still more regrettable, many of the conclusions in this work appear to be based on unproved assumptions or at best insufficient evidence. Witness, e.g., the categorial statement (p. 12) that "the form of government during the Rāmāyaṇa period was a limited monarchy," which is based on alleged checks like "the people's voice in the choice of their king, the limitations imposed upon him by the coronation-oath and the king's dependence on the ministry and the various representative assemblies of the people" (p. 96). Witness, again, the confident assertion of "the King's proprietorship in the land" based on no better evidence than a poetical hyperbole (p. 30). Turning to another point, we must say that the authoress's rendering of the technical terms according to modern terminology is often unconvincing: Cf. p. 36 where *paurajānapada* is taken to mean (on the authority of the late K. P. Jayaswal) a representative body consisting of representatives of inhabitants of the capital city and the countryside, and p. 47 where the body of *Amātyas* is translated as 'Cabinet.' On p. 58, the main sources of revenue are stated to be "taxes, tributes and royalties," but the first is based on a very loose rendering of the revenue-term *bali* which means in the Smṛitis and Epics the land-revenue and nothing else (the authoress's

translation as *profits* bears no scrutiny). In this connexion, it may be pointed out that contradictions are by no means uncommon in the present work, e.g., the statement about the constitutional position of the monarch (p. 12) is accompanied with the observation (pp. 18-19) that the King's office was divine and the King himself was considered to be of divine origin, similarly the *sabhā* is described (p. 35) as a Popular Assembly corresponding to "the present-day Parliament or Legislative Assembly" (*sic*), while its composition is said (p. 36) to be made up of officials as well as non-officials; again we are told (p. 95) that "from the Vedic period onwards monarchy was consolidating itself as the normal form of government," while later down on the same page occurs the statement that "during the Buddhistic period we find the republican form of government flourishing." Finally it may be asked why the authoress has followed only one recension of the Rāmāyaṇa to the complete exclusion of all other recensions.

U. N. Ghoshal

EDITORIAL NOTES

The Managing Committee of the Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the usual donation of Rs. 100/- only for this year from Dr. Narendra Nath Law who has been a benefactor of the Society for many years past.

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Owing to the prevailing war conditions the Annual Meeting of the members of Greater India Society has unavoidably been postponed for better times.

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The Managing Committee of the Greater India Society has received with the deepest regret the news of the lamented deaths of Messrs. Sarat Kumar Ray and Hirendra Nath Datta. Mr. Ray's numerous publications on the primitive tribes of Chota Nagpur placed him in the front rank of Indian anthropologists. The well-known Journal *Man in India*, which he edited with conspicuous ability from its very foundation, has been on the exchange list of the *JGIS* for several years. Mr. Datta, who had a University career of exceptional brilliance, occupied a very high place among the litterateurs and thinkers of modern Bengal through his numerous publications on religion, philosophy and literature, and was, besides, an accomplished speaker. He was the life and soul of many a learned institution. In paying its respectful homage to his honoured memory, the Society recalls with gratitude the invaluable service he rendered in connection with the yearly grants of the National Council of Education, Bengal.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following periodicals and books during the last six months.

Periodicals

- 1 *Adyar Library Publication (Brahma-vidyā)*, vol. VI, Part 2.
- 2 *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. X, Part 3.
- 3 *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. III, Nos. 2, 3, 4.
- 4 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVII, No. 4; vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 and 4.
- 5 *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. VII, Nos. 3 and 4.
- 6 *Man in India*, vol XXII, No. 1.
- 7 *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, vol. 46, No. 4; vol. 47, No. 1.
- 8 *Nagpur University Journal*, December, 1940.
- 9 *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. XXXII, No. 2.

Books, pamphlets etc.

1. *The Law of War and Peace in Islam*. By Majid Khadduri. Luzac & Co., London, 1941.
2. *East and West*. By René Guénon, Translated by William Massey Luzac & Co., London, 1941.
3. *The Rāmāyaṇa Polity*. By Miss P. C. Dharma. Madras, 1941.
4. *Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology, Vol. II for 1939*. By Braz A. Fernandes. Bombay, 1941.
5. *Palni the Sacred Hill of Muruga*. By J. M. Somasundaram. Bombay, 1941.
6. *Early History of the Andhra country*. By K. Gopalachari, Madras University Historical Series No. 16., University of Madras, 1941.
7. *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh (Indian Tibet)*. By Dr. Luciano Petech. Calcutta, 1939.
8. *Wayfarer's Words, Vol. II*. By Mrs. Rhys Davids, Luzac & Co., London, 1942.
9. *Arabia & Islamica*. By U. Wayriff. Luzac & Co., London, 1940.

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9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

